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ABSTRACT

A group of students in the course dealt with the fundamental question of the public library's role in satisfying societal needs. Each of the students set out to explore the family, social, occupational and political world of an important social group. Members of two of the groups - the urban Negro and the blue collar worker - appeared to be either largely indifferent or alienated from the public library, or both. The writers of these papers asked why and what needs to be done to reach them. Two other papers dealt with the library's regular users, the suburban housewife and the high school student, but treated them in a different context thereby raising fundamentally different questions about library services to them. The final paper considers the radical right in relation to what is known about the psychology of the authoritarian personality and demonstrates why a public library responsive to the needs and ideals of a democratic society will inevitably attract the censure of the radical right. (Author/AB)

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THE LIBRARY'S PUBLIC REVISITED

By Members of the Class in The Public Library in the Political Process

Edited by
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with
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PREFACE

To encourage and foster inquiry into basic problems is a commitment of library education which has been seldom understood or at least not fully accepted. This commitment extends below the doctoral level; it is equally relevant to the beginning level of educational preparation which purports to prepare students for careers in a professional environment undergoing rapid change and shifting responsibilities. The commitment can be met only to the extent that a faculty succeeds in identifying fundamental issues and encourages analysis in an atmosphere which stimulates critical inquiry, thoughtful challenges to accepted values and practice, serious review of basic problems viewed from differing perspectives, and couples such probing with concern for scholarly excellence.

Such academic exchange between students and faculty will not always catalyze formal papers, nor will every student effort warrant publication. But, in a field in which the professional literature is so heavily concentrated upon technical problems, student voices, which by virtue of the freshness of their approach or the innocence of their perspective, probe to the heart of issues, deserve a hearing.

One might question why student papers of excellence are not published in more regular periodical channels, and indeed they frequently can be developed for such forms of distribution. But, some simply do not fit the mold; they deal with topics which the popular literature is prepared to treat briefly if at all. Idea and conceptually laden papers except those by advanced scholars do not have an appropriate place in the professional literature of this field.

It is for these reasons that the faculty of the School of Library and Information Services has decided to initiate a student contribution series. It is expected that each number in the series will consist of several papers united by a common subject or theme. They will appear whenever the School generates papers which genuinely add

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to what is known or thought about an important subject. In this way, the School will share the product of the most imaginative and enterprising of the student minds at Maryland with their colleagues in the field of practice whom they will be joining.

We are pleased to present the inaugural issue of the University of Maryland, School of Library and Information Services, Student Contribution Series.

PAUL WASSERMAN
Dean

July 1967

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most exciting and satisfying aspects of library school teaching is the opportunity to work with talented new entrants into the profession who bring fresh enthusiasm and the background and insights of other disciplines. What they lack in seasoning and experience is frequently compensated for by fresh perspective and a new way of looking at old problems. Such students can prove very unsettling, treading as they do on hallowed ground.

Such a group of students in the course "Public Library in the Political Process" during the fall semester 1965, dealt with the most fundamental question of all — the nature of the public library's role. Concerned at the outset with the problems of financial support for public libraries, the course focus quickly shifted to an assessment of how the library seeks to satisfy societal needs, since it is to the extent to which these needs are met that support appropriate to the task will or will not be forthcoming.

The seminar papers which these students prepared build on a common conviction that the public library's role is to be found in the social needs of the various groups which comprise its community. They thus reject both the "demand" theory as a basis for deciding what the public library will offer and the "quality" theory, on the grounds that each, taken in the extreme, evades the social responsibilities of libraries. Each student set out to explore the family, social, occupational and political world of an important social group. Members of two of the groups examined — the urban Negro and the blue-collar worker — appeared to be either largely indifferent or alienated from the public library, or both. The writers of these papers asked why and what needs to be done to reach them. Two other papers dealt with the library's regular users — the suburban housewife and the high school student. But the writers considered them in quite different contexts than the ways in which they are usually examined

and thereby raised fundamentally different questions about the public library's task in serving them. The final paper considers the radical right in relation to what is known about the psychology of the authoritarian personality. This paper makes it clear why a public library, truly responsive to the needs and the ideals of a democratic society, will inevitably attract the censure of the radical right.

Apart from the basic notion of the importance of understanding the library's publics, each writer developed his own theme and thesis. They have sought to portray elemental groups in the culture and to place them in a setting and in a time of vast social and technological change.

Each of these papers impressed the faculty as deserving wider attention than the seminar. For the issues raised are universal and the public library must not be too busy or too preoccupied to consider them. What appears essential is to arouse the social conscience of the public librarian.

MARY LEE BUNDY

ADOLESCENCE: ANOTHER VIEWPOINT

By JOHN E. VAJDA

Obviously the most apt way of beginning a study of any group is by defining the group itself. This would seem an easy task. With the rise of the social sciences however, the matter of definition takes on new dimensions. The group we seek to define is adolescents. Depending on whether you are a sociologist, a psychologist, or a physiologist, the definition of the period of adolescence proceeds along quite different lines.

Most are agreed as to the beginning point of adolescence, viz., the sexual awakening of the individual at puberty with all its concomitant physical and emotional changes. The confusion in defining the group centers around the terminal point of adolescence. All seemingly agree that this point is maturity, or more particularly, adulthood. But this is rather vague. In terms of chronological age this is shot through with contradictions. On the one hand society says at age sixteen a young offender is to be tried as an adult; at age sixteen society says compulsory education ceases and employability begins. But yet the chronological point of political adulthood does not begin (with the exception of four states, viz., Georgia, Kentucky, Alaska, and Hawaii) until the age of twenty one when the individual can exercise his right to vote. In addition there is, in the case of the male, the further stricture of marriageable age which comes when he reaches twenty one years.

Psychologists on the other hand are most unwilling to tie chronological ages to either the beginning or terminal points of this stage of life. The end of adolescence occurs when the point of self-identification or ego-identity is reached. Erikson has defined ego-identity as ". . . the creation of a sense of sameness, a unity of personality now felt by the individual and recognized by others as having consistency

in time . . ." He calls the period of adolescence ". . . a psychosocial moratorium . . . between the advent of genital maturity and the onset of responsible adulthood." If one accepts these definitions as valid then it becomes obvious that the duration of adolescence will have wide variations. In fact, it is quite possible for a person to die, for instance, at the age of forty without ever having gone beyond the period of adolescence.

This "psychosocial moratorium" can and obviously has been intensified and dangerously prolonged by the very processes of socialization and enculturation which our mass society demands. We intend, of course, to be much more circumscribed in the main thrust of this paper, restricting our group to those middle class young people who are of high school and early college age. But before proceeding, it is well and pertinent to look briefly at some of the causal factors which militate towards a prolongation of this period, factors which of course bear heavily on furthering the disharmony of the particular group with whom we shall concern ourselves.

Perhaps the most significant of these is rapid uncontrolled technological change with its concomitant social changes. It is with deliberation that the word "uncontrolled" is used in reference to these technological changes; for America has come to look upon scientific innovation and unrestrained technology as values in themselves. Consequently, there is an inner unwillingness to seek to control, guide or limit them.

If we were to look at change in the abstract, three types would emerge, three types we can see at work in our contemporary world. These are planned, imitative, and unguided, and they have their models in Russia and China, the emerging nations, and our own country. Russia and China seek to control the total planning of all technological, industrial and social change. As a consequence, the Russian and the Chinaman know at least that their respective societies are committed to increasing expansion and production. In the case of the emerging nations, they are aiming to develop a highly technological society and the direction of their change follows the model they want to imitate. In this country, we prefer to let our social transformations (and by these I mean our conceptions of the family, work, of residence, of education, of leisure, of the role of government, etc.), come about in what we consider a free and natural way when in fact we really mean in a way determined by technological innovation. Consequently, we in effect guarantee our own inability to anticipate or predict the future directions of social change.

Placing this in the context of youth, it only intensifies the disharmonies inherent in their state of life. There occurs what many sociologists and psychologists refer to as "the problem of generations." First, the past grows more and more distant from the present. The values and attitudes of parents, because their times were so different from the present, are entirely remote and irrelevant psychologically. But the young person looks to the future and because of the immense uncertainty that he sees, it seems just as remote. Already in his limited experience things have so radically changed that when he contemplates what the future will hold his view is very limited; in fact, in a good many cases there is a conscious effort to forget it. What is the result? The present takes on an increased significance as the one period in time when his environment is, in the terms so often heard today, "meaningful, relevant, immediate, and knowable."

Another factor which bears heavily upon youth during this trying period of adolescence is the lack of any social status role. What role is given to youth by the adult culture beyond that of student? This is one of the ways our society has seriously prolonged the period of adolescence. Although youth is free to leave school at the age of sixteen, the values of our middle class society dictate in a very strong way that education be extended far beyond this age. Not that there is anything wrong with education per se, but when extended education is held over a young person's head as an absolute necessity for the "good life" then it is debatable whether it does not at this point lose most of its real value and purpose.

The pressures that fall upon youth as a result are, in many cases, severe: pressures from the adult world in general, pressures from his family in particular. Even the adolescent is not so imperceptive as not to realize that his extended life as a student does nothing by way of investing him with independence, with responsibility, the very things which youth so doggedly seeks and needs.

It has been pointed out before that self-definition or, as Erikson calls it, "ego-identity," is the most important developmental task of adolescence. It is the stage of life in which every human being must come to terms with his own being, his own differences, and the meaning of his relationship to others. It would seem to follow from this that the function of education should be to help people understand the meaning of their lives, and become more sensitive to the meaning of other peoples' lives and relate to them more fully. But such an educational program in our mass society, bound as it is to the ideo-

logical commitment of equality of opportunity, must be considered, in a sense, education for a minority, for, if you will, an elite.

This is precisely why the schools tend to become dysfunctional to a great many of the youth in this country. They are trying to realize or clarify their identity; the schools, acting as social mobility ladders, assume the task of trying to make them alter or change it. Youth wants to find out who they are; the schools' task seems to be to help them make something of themselves. Youth wants to know where they are; the schools want to help them get somewhere. Youth wants to know how to live with themselves; the schools want to teach them how to get along with others. Youth wants to find out what is right for them; the schools seemingly want to teach them to give the responses that will earn them rewards in the classroom and in social situations.

What option does youth have? Acquiescence, in many cases, to the demands of the adult world with its values and responsibilities which he is not really sure he wants, or drop out. Today with our great reverence for statistics, we are concerned with the great number of school drop-outs. Statistics count bodies. It is worth considering how many young people there are who just go through the motions of being in school. It would seem that the number of students in this latter category who, in effect, have psychologically dropped out of school should give us great cause for concern also. And how many of these same extend themselves, because of felt pressures, into our colleges?

Is it any wonder then that there is in America today a youth culture quite distinct from the adult culture. In many cases, dissatisfied with the one status role that society provides for them, that of student, and at the same time refusing to commit themselves to the roles and values of the adult world, youth withdraws into the relative comfort and anonymity of identifying with and being accepted by others of their own kind.

Their rebellion, if it may be so called, against the conformity to adult norms demanded of them, results most often in a far more compulsive type of conformity to the norms enforced on them through their peer associations. The fierce need of most youths to be accepted, to be popular, drives them to these associations which, in an almost absolute manner, pre-empt their loyalties to many of the adult social institutions, if not physically then at least psychologically. Evidence of withdrawal from such adult socializing institutions as the family and the church are included in nearly all sociological studies of youth.

Depending upon the socio-economic status of their families, these peer groups are most commonly referred to as cliques (the in-school groupings of middle class suburban youth), or gangs (the drop-out groupings of lower class ghettoed youth). The conformity enforced on the individual member by the peer group is most noticeable in such areas as dress, hair styles, language and recreational outlets. Conformity to such mass standards is insured by the group through such informal sanctions as ridicule, teasing, and even complete rejection. Faced with the possibility of this non-acceptance, and most often being either unwilling or afraid to go against these tremendous pressures, youth accedes. The demands of group acceptance having cornered his loyalties, he turns to his family as a means of providing him with the status symbols of his group. And make no mistake about it, youth of today is a past master at tugging at the heartstrings of parents and through them society to get what it wants. Grace and Fred Hechinger have examined this whole area in their recent work, *Teen-Age Tyranny.*

The irony of it all is that the parents in many cases are unsure themselves as to what is or is not good for their children. The conflict of generations, alluded to in the beginning of this paper, is in evidence at the parental level also. Being unsure as to whether there really are any absolute values, being warned constantly of the fear of frustrating their children's maturation processes, they accede to many of the demands made by their children, or by "enlightened" segments of society on behalf of their children. Consider in this regard the very early dating patterns to which many educated parents ascribe, almost, one thinks, as if against their better judgment. They want their children to be popular.

Another instance of the seeming control exercised by youth over parents is the following. It is a not uncommon occurrence in the daily life of the average reference librarian when a frantic parent will call and ask any number of complex questions for which he or she will want lengthy and detailed answers. That these persons are in the process of doing their children's school assignment is quickly obvious. I recently heard a librarian recounting the substance of a telephone call which she had had with one of these parents. When a series of rather detailed questions were put to her by the parent, the librarian asked whether this was a school assignment. When the parent answered that it was, the librarian suggested that this type of research could best be handled at the library, hoping that the parent's response would be that she would send her youngster in. To the librarian's

utter amazement, the parent replied that, indeed, she realized that such questions could best be taken care of at the library but that she (the parent) had a cold and didn't want to go out of the house. Something is twisted here. She realized that it was, at the least, an imposition to seek detailed information over the telephone, but had no sense of the harm she was unwittingly inflicting on her child by doing the homework assignment for him. But then it is supposed that these young people will ultimately have this educational void filled — when they have to call or come to the library to do their own children's assignments.

Youth, through its economic buying power, is a potential political pressure group. The demands which youth makes on the adults of our affluent society, although reckoned by many to be the result of the pressures emanating from within their respective peer groups have long since been in fact caused by the burgeoning commercial interests that cater exclusively to youth. It is they who manipulate the norms of the youth culture, creating its demands for them. They have their ear close to the ground of this ten billion dollar a year market. The faintest stirrings of the creativity of youth are quickly seized upon and commercialized. A case in point is the interest of adolescent boys in tinkering with old cars. There was a time when a teen-age boy could take sweaty and greasy pride in the hot rod that he had made from a broken down, beat-up jalopy. Not anymore. Hi-Gear, The Speed Shop and similar commercial enterprises have all the things he needs in stock. And the parental pocketbook becomes (with a little persuasive tugging) the purchasing power.

Ironically, it is possible to provide young people with so much understanding of all their actions that they are robbed of the chance to rebel and test their strength. Such over-understanding and indulgence, rather than control, was no doubt responsible for the poignant remark of one young man interviewed in a study done by Bruno Bettelheim. He said: "You can't live if there's nothing to push against." What he meant is that you can't test your strength and vitality, the very things that the adolescent feels most doubtful about, when all you can push against is a vacuum. Without something to push against, youth feels lost. Many causes are embraced by youth, not for the cause itself, but because in fighting for it, its strength can be tested against something. Consequently, youth favors causes that run against the established order. Is there anything quite so safe a testing ground as the well established order?

This pushing against a vacuum has its ramification in the whole

area of youth and politics. There seems to be a lack of depth and clearly defined direction in student political activity. The absence of any ideology leaves a kind of vacuum which most often is filled with emotional activism. Most of these students have this "thing" about action. The passion usually associated with ideology (as for instance in much of the student reaction in Japan and other far eastern countries) is transferred to the actual doing of the deed. Talcott Parsons puts it this way in an article written for *Daedalus*.

> . . . American youth has seemed to be apathetic politically. During the 1930's and 1940's there was a certain amount of leftist activity, including a small Communist contingent, but the main trend has certainly been one of limited involvement. Recently, there seems to have been a kind of resurgence of political interest and activity. It has not, however, taken the form of any explicit, generalized, ideological commitment. Rather, it has tended to focus on specific issues in which moral problems are sharply defined, notably in race relations and the problems of war. (17, p. 117)

There is definite political organizational activity on many campuses in this country. There is much political activity carried on by students. Yet, there seems to be a certain instability in maintaining the effort. Youth, in its idealism, seeks charismatic leaders and causes on which to test its steel. These are not in great abundance. Unless students themselves supplement excitement with hard work, their moral protesting with political articulateness, their sense of mission with a more thorough understanding of issues, their political awakenings are likely to be stillborn. This would seem an area where the library could be of real assistance to youth.

The library profession, however, is not really sure of how or in what way youth should be served. The ambivalence of youth is not without its counterpart among librarians who exhibit a like ambivalence when the needs of youth are considered. There is an extensive literature on the issue, for instance, of the school library versus the public library with regard to service to students. It is not an uncommonly expressed woe of librarians that students work havoc on the public libraries by taking up more and more of the available space, thereby causing the regular public to less frequently use the library. The great number of these students, it is said, are working on school assignments. Is this true? Even if it were, is this less than

a legitimate use of the public library? What happens to this same student when their days of formal education come to an end? There seems to be something that the public library is doing to, or not doing for, these young people during the period that it has them as a captive public, so to speak, i.e., during their school assignment days. It is ironic that in study after study, reflecting all types of people, there is that great segment of the public who, while not using the library themselves, maintain that, as a social institution, it is important for their children in school. Has the public library unwittingly constructed this school oriented image of itself, while at the same time never really, in the true sense of the word, having captured the student public while they are students?

Youth evidences a definite propensity for avoiding any thing or place planned explicitly for their benefit by adults. In view of this, is it not likely that the whole notion of young adult rooms is not somehow an incongruity? It is realized that this flies in the face of more experienced heads who conceived this concept after extended experience and study. Yet, it is felt that for the majority of young people this room, placed as it so often is, in close proximity to the children's room, is a constant reminder to them of the dependent side of their status. "Here's something else that's good for us." No matter how in tune a young adult librarian may be with the needs and aspirations of adolescents, to be operating in such a circumscribed area would seem to place him or her at a definite disadvantage. The young adult room becomes a kind of restrictive place that youth, out of necessity, gets close to physically while remaining distant from psychologically. As in the case of school, which for many becomes non-functional all too soon, so it is with the library. The communications media of our electronic age are rapidly making of the world a kind of global village. The demands of this world as relayed by these media cry out for involvement. The curricula provided by our schools seems somehow distantly irrelevant in terms of such involvement. Might it not be added — so is the library with the current pitch it makes to youth. Does the library, because of its public and therefore political status, tread dangerous waters when it seeks to create demands rather than cater to them?

Our affluent society has put together by various means a large reservoir of young people that it can seemingly afford to keep financially, in effect, creating a leisure class. It would seem to follow that for such a leisure class, the area of political activity would be a natural. Is it inconceivable that America could somehow create a new vocation

of political activist concerned with awakening the disadvantaged and the disinterested to their political opportunities and responsibilities? Much of our youth has been, is , or will be involved in such undertakings. Is this not what the Peace Corps, VISTA, SNCC and other such organizations are all about? As a source of manpower for such a new vocation, could we not use the vast resources of those members of our society who make up a real leisure class, viz., in addition to youth, perhaps those others who now live long beyond retirement from their jobs, and even those whose jobs have been or will be automated out from under them? The implications of such a compelling notion have been fully and imaginatively explored by Arthur I. Waskow in a recent article written for *The Saturday Review.*

Do the young adult rooms of our libraries look out at youth with eyes of like vision and relevance? If not, why not? Adolescents, as a library public, represent just one of the many problem areas which must be attended to. That they represent a problem is indicative of the public library's reluctance to assess, define, and articulate just what its basic goals are. It may sound trite, but adolescents, or what is the same thing, students, are the library's public of tomorrow. That the great majority of them never return on the morrow is an unfortunate fact, a fact that should certainly be the pressing concern of the library profession.

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THE SUBURBAN REALITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

By GILDA NIMER

The term "suburb" evokes a host of images. This paper seeks to *identify* — not to praise, defend, or view with alarm — what is common to the suburban phenomenon. Suburbia is neither transitory nor peripheral to the American scene; it encompasses a large and growing proportion of the United States population.* Since a substantial body of our citizenry is to be found here, the library must know the suburbanite if it is to serve his needs.

After a brief survey of types of suburbs, their physical and social characteristics will be cited and examined, and from this discussion, some implications for the role of the public library in suburbia will be made.

All suburbs exist on the outskirts of a city, combining urban and rural features. They may be virtually identical with a city neighborhood, but they exist without the city limits, subject to separate governmental jurisdiction. Although individually more specialized in function, they may comprise among them not merely dormitory, but economic and marketing functions as well, so that some of their residents need never enter the nearby city. But they are not viable entities without relation to it. Some suburbs are primarily industrial, with a greater labor force than number of inhabitants, but we are interested in the people in suburbs, so will be concerned with those which are primarily residential.

*Max S. Wehrly, executive director of the Urban Land Institute, estimated that "the population of the nation's suburban areas reached 68 million in 1965, compared with 61 million for central cities. In 1960, central city population stood at 58 million, compared with 55 million for suburban rings. Suburbs have pulled ahead of central cities in the last three years, and the trend is expected to continue." *The Washington Post,* Dec. 11, 1965.

This study will not equate suburbs with upper middle class communities, although it may dwell on their characteristics more, as the ones discussed in the literature. As our society waxes affluent, and the urban population grows, the suburb, historically a bastion of the privileged, has become domicile to a wider income range as well as increasing numbers. Slum suburbs do exist, but as their formation arose through proximity to factories rather than forces promoting current suburban expansion, they will be omitted from discussion. There is growing interest among metropolitan planners in placing public housing in the suburbs, so the suburbia of the future may well contain all economic groups now found in the city.

Suburbs may be viewed dynamically as well as functionally. In their extensive current growth, sleepy suburbs suddenly change character, as tremendous population influxes occur, engendering conflicts between old and new residents. Vast new communities arise where nothing had existed before, and they must create the social and legal institutions necessary for a viable community. Their forms of government are varied, ranging greatly in size and complexity, often with overlapping jurisdictions for various forms of services, such as school and water districts.

Suburbs vary as to the comprehensiveness with which they are conceived — individual builder's subdivisions, a mere grouping of houses; massive developments, where some foresight attended their birth, such as the Levittowns, Park Forest, and Greenbelt; and finally, the ultimate in present planning, such "new towns" as Reston, where virtually all aspects of community life were considered before the first bulldozer appeared. These differences, basic as they are to the consideration of library development, will not form the heart of this paper, save for pointing up where generalizations made from the observation of one type should be limited in their application.

The age of the development will affect its structure. In simultaneous settlement of a newly built development, residents face one situation. In time the community will be a blend of old families and new, but its dynamics will differ from the confrontation of old and new cited above.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The automobile. Suburbia could not exist without the automobile. Access to virtually every aspect of life — employment, marketing, amusements, health facilities — requires transportation. The only exceptions are schools, where buses are provided when necessary. In a

less affluent economy, not provided with universal private transport, people and facilities would cluster together, or public transportation would exist. The prevalence of cars obviates the provision of alternative solutions. The onus is on the individual; if he does not drive, he is severely handicapped in pursuance of normal activities. The growing crisis posed by the multiplication of private vehicles is a concern of metropolitan planners, but has yet to receive remedial action. (1) The acceptance of a "new town" suburb like Reston, which among its many innovative concepts, has attempted to center facilities so people could walk to them, may be a harbinger of future development. To a limited extent, suburbia copes with the problem. As high rise apartment buildings appear, they cluster around shopping centers, or, as has become frequent in Washington suburbs, the apartment complex itself provides among its services the "courtesy bus", which takes people both to shopping centers and places where buses are available.

Zoning. Zoning, undertaken to prevent certain evils, to protect the home owner's investment by preventing changes in the nature of his area, has created new evils in the process. Business establishments and different kinds of housing are strictly proscribed in their possible location. Commendable though zoning may be from the standpoint of the individual home owner, it does lead to great monotony on the suburban landscape — little contrast in heights and types of buildings, not to mention the occupants. To satisfy both the security of the home owner and the desire for variety, planning must precede development and be on a vast scale. Comprehensive planning, especially when undertaken by a governmental agency, is a controversial activity in the American value system. Many people feel this smacks of too much control. Meanwhile, the builder operates in a separate sphere than does the planner, without reference to the consequences of his activities.

Facilities. Marketing facilities have followed the rush to suburbia, where the densest concentration of heavy and reliable consumers is to be found. The affluent young suburbanite, with a growing family, is in the process of acquiring possessions, and is home-oriented. So he is provided with ample opportunities to buy, especially standard items in food, household goods, and appliances. People might have to turn to the center city for specialized needs; but daily needs are met abundantly close by. Indeed, so much so that reverse commuting takes place, as people in center city drive out to the suburbs for

the competitive prices and large selections in standard items which suburbia affords.

The cultural resources of a city, its concert halls, theaters, and museums, have not made the outward trek. Financial outlay must be adequate to support quality yet culture is the exercise of specialized tastes, unlike the universal appetites for food and appliances. So cultural resources remain in the center city location, where the audience can be attracted from a large radius. The suburb, of course, is not, like a small town, an isolated unit; resources are available, albeit at a greater distance.

Suburbs, often dealing with just as many people in the aggregate as center cities, do so in terms of the more limited numbers within their separate jurisdictions; finding it difficult enough to cope with basic services, like schools and water, they relegate cultural and communal resources to a peripheral place. The city, planning for *all* its residents, provides something in the way of museums, libraries, and facilities where large numbers of people can gather. The suburb, with equal or greater per capita resources, provides these facilities on a sharply limited scale, or not at all. Good libraries, dealing in manageable commodities, are feasible; not so, concert performances, where the suburbanite gets instead, the amateur orchestra, nor museums, which deal in the rare and unique.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Family. Suburbanites until recently have been families with children, attracted by the housing accommodations specifically appropriate for family use — private homes and garden apartments — with the space, both inside and out, that accompanied them. For families in the lower middle income range, with young children, suburban housing accommodations allowed greater freedom — children could make noise, be physically free, have pets — than city accommodations in a similar price range. This specific appeal intensified as families could count on the understanding of neighbors like themselves, the availability of playmates, and the emphasis on schools. Older families, as their children left the parental roof, and the parents themselves became widowed, no longer needed these special advantages, and, indeed, found themselves isolated.

Recently, however, the high rise apartment building has appeared on the suburban landscape, bringing its special attractions — small units, and no worry about upkeep. So there will be increasing numbers of other groups — couples, both young and old, and individuals.

Suburbia being largely a middle-class, or more precisely, a middle income phenomenon, has also become increasingly the *only* area for middle income people to live. In many metropolitan areas no simple choice exists between city and suburbs; central city housing offers either slums or housing for the well-to-do, but nothing in between. Truly middle income housing can be found only under special sponsorship, as for example, the housing projects sponsored by unions and institutions in Manhattan. (Even these are cooperatives, and require an initial investment.) To stay in the center city otherwise on a middle income requires commitment and ingenuity, and few people hold city values sufficiently dear to follow this harder course.

All such suburban housing excludes the lowest income groups. And it is easier, in suburbia, to erect barriers of skin color without reference to income. It does not follow that suburbanites are proportionately more prejudiced than their city cousins. The Negroes, being out of the suburb, lack the political leverage to compel enactment and implementation of laws opening access to housing. While a minority of middle income whites specifically chose to live in integrated city neighborhoods because of their commitment to integration, they have their parallels in the suburbs, who devote time and energy to opening up the tacit barriers to integration there. Both groups want decent housing for their families. While it is undoubtedly true that many people rush to the suburbs specifically to avoid contact with Negroes, there is no reason to assume that this is the predominant reason. The city is no longer fluid in enlarging its borders, and the overflow spills into the suburbs.

The new resident comes to suburbia with this ethnic heritage diluted by increasing generations of American-born forbearers, and his regionalism erased by twentieth century communication. The influences which molded him are similar, no matter what part of the country he came from and who his ancestors were. Secure in his acceptance as an American, he can afford to be tolerant and even appreciative of the minor differentations which continue to exist — this in contrast with past generations where strong minority cultures, in close confrontation, often served to threaten their individual members more than to enrich.

To the extent that ethnic culture survives, it is to be found in the center city. It is less intense, of course, since the great waves of immigration have ceased, and modern world communication has increased similarities throughout the globe. But center cities are the traditional foci for large immigrant groups, who can by their numbers

reinforce whatever characteristics set them apart, ethnic churches and institutions, the availability of ethnic foods. Children growing up within such an environment are bound to show its imprint. (24)

Not only are suburbanites families, but they are what sociologists have termed "nuclear" families, units of husband, wife and children living apart from larger kin groups. This family pattern differs sharply with that of preceding generations, both city and rural, and is truer of suburbs. Again, as immigrants have become Americanized, they have moved out from the sheltering influence of ethnic communities, secure that they will find congeniality and acceptance in the world without. So if opportunity calls them elsewhere, they go; it is not to an alien land. And they leave behind their parents, siblings, and kin groups.

Many forces have combined to make opportunities call elsewhere. Economic man is drawn to where his skills are in demand. Farming is more productive, releasing manpower formerly tied to the land. Our society is complex and specialized, and these specialties need not be sought in a person's home town. People supplying universal societal wants — plumbers, construction workers, doctors — are not as subject to mobility, but others must go where their particular specialty offers opportunity. Business organizations are bigger, and even when an organization is physically dispersed, upward mobility is often dependent on physical transfers. In general the more specialized and highly educated a person, the greater the mobility required of him.

So the suburban family is an independent unit, removed, for good or ill, from the wide associational ties that characterized family life in the past. Gordon especially feels that great mental stress is engendered thereby, as the parental generation is denied opportunity to be of use once their children have grown, and young mothers are denied the help of female relatives at a time when their lives are particularly strenuous. (9) If there is continued physical mobility as well, the family must repeatedly make new acquaintances, and there is no time to develop deep and rewarding relationships.

Yet, the factor mentioned earlier, that mobile suburbanites usually settle in a community of people very much like themselves, tends to ameliorate this difficulty. Women substitute neighbors for familial society, and because they face the same problems and hold the same values, even their brief acquaintanceship does not loom large as a handicap. (14) It must be stressed again that mobile people are usually educated, their society is fluid and readily duplicated; they do not, as a whole, face the problem of an individual family knocking

at the door of a stable society with its relationships closed to outsiders.

There are certain positive gains too. The necessity of organizing institutions in newly-built communities catalyzes interaction amongst its members. The city resident, with existing institutions available to him, may not impart the vitality to them that does a suburbanite, who has felt need of them and participated in their development and direction, feeling that they are truly "his".

Husband. The stereotype of the suburban husband is that of a commuter who spends an inordinate amount of time traveling to and from his place of employment. The hours in transit, plus the hours at work, make him a virtual stranger in his home. He is only the breadwinner in a matriarchal society.

He is likely to be a cog in a large organization, rather than an independent operator of any kind, so his life is compartmentalized into job and home. "He must live in two vastly different worlds, worlds farther apart psychologically than physically." (10, p. 89)

He is physically mobile, but unlike his wife, the adjustments he needs to make are minimal, for his work and kind of associates give him continuity. (23)

His competitive milieu demands achievement and success, so he must devote a disproportionate amount of energy to his work, giving short shrift to other activities and societal values; he is too involved in his work to assume the responsibilities of citizenship, leaving them to his wife. (25) Alternatively, his commitment to the impersonal corporation which employs him is a tenuous one, lacking the propelling force of self-determination, so it becomes a mere means to an end and allows him to participate more fully in communal activities. (22)

Modern folkways have domesticated the male, and he is expected to do his share of menial household chores. But the suburbanite has additional responsibilities than the city husband — he must make household repairs, mow the lawn, and shovel snow.

The suburban family relationship seems implicitly contrasted with either the family farm or an idealized family. But man's history has always been a struggle for the means of existence, and if in the past the breadwinner and his labors were physically more visible to his family, and they his lesser partners, he was nonetheless deeply involved in economic concerns, with no more time, and probably less, to be a father, a neighbor, a citizen. Suburban commuting itself encompasses broad variations. Probably the most genuine change has been the decreasing proportion of men who are independently employed.

Wife. The suburban wife, like her children, is the recipient of the amenities suburbia is geared to provide — her surroundings are pleasing, and she is plentifully endowed with labor-saving devices. In her early child-bearing years, she needs the devices, for unlike the larger families of city and country, she has no mother-surrogates (grandmothers, aunts) to share in the task of raising the children. (9) Devices substitute also for the services which similar affluence commands in other circumstances — servants, laundries, the accessible grocery around the corner. Yet, undeniably, many basic tasks can now be taken over by a machine. But subject to Parkinson's law, work expands to fill the time available, and involvement in motherhood now becomes obligatory. Where children formerly fended for themselves, or were actually productive, because they had to be, the suburban mother is now expected to take part in children's activities, function in child-centered organizations — PTA, nursery school, Scouts — and perforce, serve as chauffeur to her land-locked children, carting them to lessons and dentist and shopping.

Whether or not this greater attention to children creates a better end-product, it is deeply interwoven in the societal fabric.

The suburban wife lives in a more sexually segregated world than does the rural wife, in partnership with her husband, or the urban wife, with a varied community at her doorstep. Her associations are largely limited to other housewives and children. (19, 23) She rarely sees the city, for the activities there are voluntary, and she alone must cope with her children and the difficulties and distances involved, and does not feel it worth the effort. She is divorced from her husband's economic activities, but probably not more so than her urban colleagues. Her horizons may be limited, and the contrast with her pre-parental diversified life, sharp.

On the other hand, she is better educated, and more cognizant of her own worth. Thanks to society's current concern, she is more likely to be anticipating productive later years, in contrast to the affluent women of recent generations, who lost their function and usefulness when their children were grown, with consequent disorganization. (9) Her husband shares her domestic tasks, while she pursues organizational tasks. She is the mainstay of grassroots suburban politics. (25)

Children. Not only do suburbs contain greater than average numbers of children, but most commentators agree that suburbs are child-centered to an alarming extent. Slum families may have more children, but not the affluence and resources to expend on them that

is characteristic of suburbia.

This suburban child, on the surface, is most fortunate; he can take for granted more room, more wholesome recreational facilities, and ample satisfaction of his physical needs of food, shelter and clothing. He is the beneficiary of much parental attention, and his education receives both close scrutiny and the bulk of the suburban tax dollar. He is expected to go to college.

Why then, so much viewing with alarm. (5, 9, 10, 19, 26) Consider these allegations. Affluence is good up to a point, but used without wisdom, it can lead to a distortion of values. And there are signs that this is occurring. Affluence, provided by an absentee father, is no substitute for a wholesome family relationship.

The suburban child is not only infected by the superficial values — conformity and materialism — which pervade suburbia, and will be discussed in the following pages, but is himself an instrument of parental social aspirations — pushed to excel, irrespective of his talents and inclinations. His parents' alleged unwillingness to deal with him personally, and their aspirations for him, cause him to be regimented in organized activities and lessons, with no time to do with as he sees fit, or be alone.

The homogeneity and spatial diffusion of his suburb prevent him from experiencing the greater world around him. Even in a homogeneous city neighborhood, the congestion of the city would prevent his isolation. Thus insulated, he lacks empathy and initiative, and is unprepared to deal with the reality of a varied world.

Thanks to suburban dispersal, he must be chauffeured virtually everywhere, and cannot develop independence. He cannot run errands, go to the library, or engage in other activities an urban child can do on his own. The rural child cannot also, but he has other means of participating in life in a constructive and meaningful way.

Nor is his physical set-up completely rosy. Suburban school systems, often newly organized, are sometimes unprepared to cope with population influxes, resulting in the same overcrowding from which the urban family fled. Small school systems may not be able to offer the specialized help of a large city system.

Common sense can dispel some of the above criticism, but not all. The pernicious effects of affluence, materialism and conformity are societal problems, not particularly suburban ones. Nor are they inherent and inevitable. The suburbanite father may not be absentee; there is contrary evidence that he is highly involved, more than ever before, in his child as a person; he is active in PTAs and other child-

focussed groups, he is involved in domestice activities. There are no statistical studies to document this allegation.

Childhood is of longer duration than formerly, when children undertook the responsibilities of adulthood in their early teens. An affluent society needs to cope with those additional years when the child is physically mature, but still in training for adulthood rather than a productive member of it. It copes by lessons and organized activities, but perhaps fresher approaches are necessary — ways to make youth useful as well.

The fact of the child's insulation from the greater world, and his being landlocked by the physical characteristics of suburbia, remain.

SOCIAL OUTLOOK

Organizations. Organizational life in suburbia is said to be intense and varied, a result of both its physical nature and the kind of people it attracts. Organizations are among the main avenues people use to discover congenial comrades in new environments. Organizational activity is also positively correlated with educational and income levels, which are higher in the suburbs. Hence, in Berger's working class suburb, the behavior of his subjects changed very little when they moved to suburbia. The new communities studied had to develop basic institutions, and activity decreased as the need for it abated. So it is reasonable to assume that organizational activity is most pronounced in newly established communities, and this indeed, seems to be the case, as Whyte and Henderson demonstrate in detail. Although the proportion of joiners in society is small, Whyte and Henderson found the move to suburbia produced new joiners of people who had previously been inactive.

Organizations are particularly agreeable to those educated suburban housewives who feel frustrated in not utilizing their capabilities. In organizations which have as their purpose the betterment of community and family, they can put their talents to use in a socially acceptable way.

The youthful composition of many suburban communities has perforce given positions of leadership and responsibility to young adults who would be passed over in established communities with older residents. Henderson feels this is very beneficial, both to the individuals so entrusted, and the nation, which will in time enjoy the fruits of their experience in leadership.

What observers decry is over-organization, when it dominates the natural family unit. Families, instead of spending their free time

together, are separated by the need to attend meetings. Or, when zealous group activity regiments leisure hours, creating a sense of pressure and allowing little time for individual pursuits, such as reading.

The preponderance of organizations is also frowned upon as symptomatic of modern man's inability to act as an individual; Riesman's "other-directed" personality rather than the "inner-directed" man of by-gone eras, from whom true progress and creativeness could flow. To such thinkers, city organizational life is more wholesome, for the urbanite can be more selective, both in time and choice. He utilizes organizations to develop individual interests, rather than satisfy herd instincts.

Organizations exist to fulfill certain purposes, whether their stated aims or unconscious needs. Increased group activity may be an indicator that all is not well, but it must not be lost sight of that many voluntary organizations are necessary for the functioning of suburban groups in particular, and that they and others serve legitimate and beneficial individual purposes as well, as cited above.

Politics. Suburbanites display a more widespread interest in politics than is characteristic of the nation as a whole. Indeed, Wood feels that it is largely man's desire for personalized government which has led to the suburban exodus, and more, the cause of duplication of governmental structures in adjacent, virtually identical communities, when an expanded single government apparatus would be more efficient and economical. The tendency to insularity and diversity decried by most authors is the very factor which Wood feels enables these uneconomical and inefficient units to be viable. A body of people that thinks alike, at least on major issues, can function more smoothly; variation introduces conflicting interests. This nostalgic yearning to recapture the New England town meetings of yesteryear had led to the formation of small, homogeneous government units, in the expectation of better government, an expectation which Wood demonstrates is based on false assumptions and is therefore erroneous.

Part of the "upward mobility" syndrome, wherein the move to suburbia denotes increased social status, was that the new arrival aped his upper class neighbors, his political convictions no more than an outer garment. As they were Republican, he voted Republican, and Republican strength was to be correlated with suburban growth. Hindsight enables us to see that this generalization, based on statistics from the Eisenhower elections, was erroneous; whatever causes fluctuation in suburban political tides, political mimicry is insignificant. Even then, there were contrary indications; a Levittown study showed

Jewish suburban votes did not change. More recently, the political leanings of Berger's laborers were unaffected by the suburban move. (2)

The suburbanite's characteristics affect his political activity; he is educated and native-born. He is therefore more apt to vote, and too politically sophisticated to be the pliant object of a political machine. This is more a matter of time than area, and applicable to the urbanite too. But the city is also the home of the immigrant and the under-educated, the politically naive who perhaps can be more readily manipulated.

In both city and suburb, politics has become a respectable activity in which to engage, in contrast to its shadowy past. This makes it particularly appealing for the activist suburbanite, so campaigns are characterized by widespread involvement of volunteers.

Religion. Suburban religious activity shows striking changes, and is the subject of much interested comment. To begin with, there is more of it. Save for the Berger study (the only one statistically documented, but on a small number) the consensus is that there are not only more nominal church members among suburbanites, but they are more actively involved; there is increased attendance at church services, and church sponsored activities play a larger role in the life of the community. In all denominations, this religiosity has become less sectarian; the important thing is to *be* a member, rather than *what* one is a member of, with a corresponding emphasis on similarities rather than differences. Park Ridge residents pioneered in the ecumenical movement, when its Protestants opted for one big church, better able to serve communal needs, rathen than smaller churches for the various sects. (23) Such tolerance and ability to join forces is not surprising, in view of the fact that suburbanites were similar to begin with. In the past, and still surviving in the city, sects were more closely tied with ethnic differences. (24)

The church has found new vitality, but whether this signifies more religiosity is argued. It ministers to the here and now, fulfilling vital communal needs — a weapon to ameliorate rootlessness, everyman's psychiatrist, an avenue to congenial associations, even the physical facilities in such short supply elsewhere in suburbia — for scout groups, nursery schools, auditorium space. And all socially acceptable, in accordance with society's mores. But beyond that, it has taken the reigns of leadership for those who seek moral commitment and activism. It heads the civil rights movement, and seeks, in varying degrees, to involve its communicants, alienating some, but attracting others.

To the pastor fall concerns germane to his calling — how to main-

tain and elevate religiosity in an affluent and material society, quite apart from the ready support which his church enjoys. (10) And the church's dilemma in ministering to the eager and prosperous suburbs as opposed to greater allocation of funds and talent to the poor in the city, who neither seek the church nor can pay for its services, but by ministerial standards, are most in need. (6, p. 79)

Social mobility. Mobility has a class as well as a physical reference, and the suburb is said to be the principal staging ground for operations in social climbing. The move to suburbia, leaving behind the have-nots, represents only the initial toe-hold on the ladder. From then on, constant manipulation to consolidate and better one's status ensues. The pleasant surroundings of suburbia represent, not the achievement of final goals, but landmarks on the upward climb. To stay still is to fail. One's home is not permanent, because soon one hopes to afford a better one. Upward mobility does not take place in the economic sphere alone, for in the suburban training ground one learns and practices the behavior and associational patterns appropriate to the status one seeks. Kind and extent of possessions, social life, church attendance, even the way the lawn is tended, do not represent individual expression, but calculated gestures in improving one's social standing. This emphasis on appearances, as opposed to satisfactions gained from the things themselves — pride in a job well done, the pleasure of congenial (not "useful") friends — not only symptomizes a lack in modern society, but in its lack of realism can lead to severe personal disorganization. (9)

Contrasted with agrarian and peasant societies, in which aspirations were fixed and limited, the democratic ideal of a fluid society does promote widespread upward striving. Our present affluence too, frees people from earlier restrictions on social movement. But a corollary of the democratic fluid society is that men move upward on merit, not on appearances. And it is worry about the latter that is so disturbing to commentators on the American scene.

Some studies have fallen prey to interpreting social phenomena in terms of a pre-biased frame of reference. In others, the studies documenting social mobility in suburbia can be seen to too readily generalize to the whole, actions which are peculiar to a given situation. Whyte analyzed a group of young adults, after the hiatus of a major war; an age and time when it would seem natural to have high expectations insufficiently tempered with reality. Were he to see the same people today, would they still be engaged in feverish upward movement, or alternatively, disillusioned has-beens? It is not unlikely

that some would have achieved contentment and stability. Berger has shown that the working man suburbanite, though his affluence allows him the same material comforts as his neighbors, has little concern with upward mobility. The writer's experience, while it confirms the existence of upward aspiration, and perhaps inflated views of individual capabilities, refutes the assumption that life choices are made primarily in terms of future social movement.

Conformity. Conformity is another component in the suburban atmosphere. People live in identical houses, which they furnish the same way. They hesitate to express any individuality for fear they will offend, or be neighborhood outcasts. These days one must "keep down with the Joneses," rather than up, but one must not display one's wealth, either mental or material. (11, 14, 23) Delicate nuances define proper dress, leisure activity, and entertainment. Those insensitive to majority practice experience exclusion, a bitter punishment. In the contrasted city, anonymity and multiple choices allow people to do as they please. The variety of the city makes one less dependent on one's immediate neighbors, who cease to influence one's behavior.

There may be much truth to these observations, but too much generalization from particular situations. Not every suburban community is one in which most interaction is based on proximity. A suburbanite may live in an identical house, not because he prefers to do so, but because enjoying its other attributes, or being able to afford one at all, depends on accepting its monotony. And this, of course, is true in lesser magnitude for the city. Even if there is a questionable scale of values in our culture when the wealthy too, buy development houses, this is not pertinent to the large number of suburbanites not faced with choices. Similar people, influenced by limited sources, such as television and mass magazines, behave in similar fashion. The homogeneity of Park Ridge enables friendships there to be established on a "court" basis. A community in a later stage, and of more mixed composition, shows greater individualization among its members. (14)

Yet there is sameness and blandness, and the pity of it all is that with the abundant choices modern communication affords us, we retain the same provincialism unavoidable in former generations. Variety in individual expression should be widespread, offering opportunity for greater texture in life, yet we are failing to utilize it.

Rootlessness. A by-product of physical and social mobility is the rootlessness which it is likely to induce. Mobility denies the individual his human need for continuity, a place in the scheme of people and things where one can take, and be taken, for granted, the comfortable-

ness of belonging. It is not so much the movement itself — greater movement takes place in the city — but the further and more frequent separation from greater family and old friends.

Society has substitutions and adaptations to meet this change. People are forced to join together in a new community to establish its communal institutions. They necessarily get to know each other, and acquire techniques for future moves. Secondly, we are so much the product of a single environment that if there are no long acquaintances and blood ties, there are nevertheless, common denominators.

Unfortunately, no complete substitute exists for acceptance, not for *what* one is, but *because* one is.

Other suburban values. Seeley and his colleagues hypothesize that the entire suburban experience is a training ground in individualism — children experience physical separation from parents as early as possible, and the culture encourages each family member to go his own way — training appropriate for a future full of choices, but also leading to atomization.

Passing mention is made of suburban friendliness, scientifically attested to (4, p. 122) and informality — casualness in dress and style of entertaining. (11, p. 292) To Henderson, "Nothing . . . is more impressive than this uniform pattern of casual but warm friendliness and cooperation." (14, p. 32—Nov.)

Materialism. Materialism, rampant in American life in general, reaches the zenith of its expression in suburbia. Suburbia is not only more affluent, but its spending power is concentrated on things.

Materialism, a word of negative connotation, refers to more than a concern with things. Nor need it negate concern with other societal values. It becomes undesirable when the desire for possessions cannot become sated as it consumes, and when a preoccupation with material things is so strong it takes precedence over all other values.

But there is an implicit contrast in the yardstick of suburban commentators, who tend more to approve the affluent who remain in the city than those who take to the suburbs; an assumption that city dwellers by opting, in general, for a smaller amount of physical space, are spending less of their wealth on material needs, and proportionately more on such cultural gratifications as travel and theater. The suburban cousin, at best an inoffensive boob, is tied to his pedestrian power mowers and labor saving devices, and intellectual and cultural leadership must come from the city.

Although no study proves such assumptions, the prevalence of such indications as the lack of cultural facilities in the suburbs, in

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contrast to the alacrity with which other needs have been met, would indicate there is some truth to them. The writer does not feel, as do some commentators, that living in the city per se indicates a greater tolerance for, and involvement in, the whole of mankind. To the extent that materialism has overtaken our society, it is indeed a matter of concern. The fact that more of us can gratify many wants is no evil, but should not obscure concern for the have-nots, both in our nation and world society.

SUMMARY

Often the suburban commentator contrasts what he sees with an unrealistic ideal opposite, explicitly, as in Gordon, and implicitly, as in Riesman. The wholeness of rural life is extolled; the family an integral unit engaged in satisfying productive labor, with a time to work and a time to play. Or the city is painted as a place where diverse groups, living in proximity, are tolerant, yet maintain the privacy necessary to permit wholesome individual development. Past generations were guided by values now breached — contentment with status, pride in handiwork, concern with ethics and morality. But the present picture is less bleak when its opposites, too, are viewed realistically. And the present must be viewed for the dynamic, multi-faceted phenomenon which it is.

Suburbia, in its emergent present, more closely mirrors the total population than it did in the fifties, the hey-day of suburban literature. Using the preceding discussion we now attempt to point out the most significant suburban characteristics, rather than those limited to a particular time or place:

1. The dispersive aspect of suburbia, and its dependence on private transport to meet its varied needs.
2. Although the economic range is wide, it does not take in society's disadvantaged. This leads to a built-in insularity.
3. The suburbanite is better educated. His family unit is small, and he resembles his neighbors. His material needs are well met, but his cultural experiences leave much to be desired. He has high expectations for his children, who are insulated and dependent.
4. Materialism, conformity, and a child-centered culture, exist as by-products of our age, and may be stronger in the suburbs. Mobility, and its consequence, rootlessness, may increase, since it is the result of increased specialization and larger organizational units.

These, it is felt, are the common components of suburbia, upon which should be focussed the attention of the public library which

serves the suburb. Some ways in which the library could respond to suburban needs are now suggested.

THE LIBRARY'S RESPONSE

Library facilities. Suburbia's dependence on cars cannot be considered beneficial. Even with improved transportation, all manner of public and private services can never, save in a totally planned community like Reston, be as readily accessible as they are in city congestion. But it would appear that accessibility and smaller scale are desirable aims. It would increase children's independence to walk to a library when they chose to do so, instead of having it as one more place from which they are shuttled back and forth. Granted, it is impossible to plan enough library branches to have one within walking distance of everybody in suburbia. But instead of super-libraries, serving large areas, more basic values might be served by as wide a dispersal of facilities as possible. This does not mean that all facilities need be duplicated. But it is technically feasible to plan for small, accessible libraries, to serve minimal common needs, with greater resources within easy reach.

The lack of *public* communal facilities in suburbia leads one to consider the library either as an element in publically maintained communal resources or its focal point. By this is meant that in addition to its customary facilities the library would have available meeting rooms for activities currently under the aegis of schools and churches, facilities for such groups as scouts, golden age clubs, newcomers, adult discussion groups, classes, and possibly auditoriums. Present facilities, even as products of an affluent community, are often inadequate and inappropriate. The schools do not have the proper space to spare, the churches are sectarian and private. Such needs are inadequately met in the city too, but that does not make them of less concern to suburbs.

The emphasis on children in the suburbs, and in particular, their college aspirations, lead in practice to a specialized use of the suburban library. It is less a communal resource than an educational adjunct. Yet the two bodies, school and library, go their separate ways. Coordination of the two can lead both to a better allocation of total resources and better service. Should the youthful influx be accommodated, tolerated, or discouraged? Should the public library, in allocating its services, specialize in meeting the educational needs of the young, or plan its services to encourage greater adult use?

Library values. The following are submitted as societal values,

which the library can consciously implement when it considers its services to a suburban public:

The desirability of maintaining diversity in our culture. The library would not only provide access to diversified material (not just books!) to satisfy existing interests, but through displays, promotional activities and films, titillate public interest over broad areas. Library policy would not simply reflect what is popular at the moment, allocating its resources to greater duplication of popular material. It would take the initiative in promotion, utilizing current concerns, but not limiting itself to them. If the library provided communal meeting space, policy would be reflected in its encouragement of specialized groups to use its space, that is, they would not simply give high priority to civic associations and scout groups, representing majorities, neglecting numerically small groups which served to maintain the diversity and richness of the culture.

The need for empathy and involvement. The suburbanite, in his search for a better life, has located himself where he and his children have no direct contact with people unlike him — the Negro, the poor, the aged. This is nothing new; the small town and the urban neighborhood also were homogeneous and segregated. Vision and empathy extended no further than they do today. But to the extent that our technology, both in communications and material abundance, gives us the wherewithal to implement the democratic ideal that each person should be encouraged to develop his full potential, the library can join the effort to foster its implementation. *What* it can do is a mirror image of what must be done for the underprivileged Negro in our culture, who needs reading material to build up his own image, *more* material about the Negro. The library, in its selection policy, can provide material about people unlike its clientele, which nevertheless stresses their common humanity. The suburban child, like the Negro child, is entitled, and needs to read about people like himself. But the library must be aware of the built-in biases of selection, and remedy them by material on other peoples. The inculcation of empathy involves not just a presentation of other cultures, other needs, but an awareness of what is *common,* so the reader can forge bonds.

Book selection is important, but in complementary services as a public communal facility, the library can be receptive to those organizations which actively work toward these goals. And the library must do so with open eyes, for here it enters a controversial realm. It is also the realm of political, social and educational groups. But the

library, truly public, may supplement and support, and reach others as well.

The commitment to excellence. This is the time-honored role of the library — to provide access to what is best in our written heritage and select the best in current writing. The present library can expand its facilities to records and films. The suburban library, as the public repository of culture, no longer serves its dramatic role of the uniquely accessible helping hand to the intellectually aspiring poor. But it may count on a relatively more responsive public. Perhaps it can further promote its aims by importing examples of living excellence, which, while obtainable in the city, are neglected when not conveniently available — chamber music concerts and travelling art exhibits, as well as supportive promoting of downtown culture.

Strengthening communal bonds. If the library serves as a communal organ, it can be a source of information and communication for a community's social resources, and act as a catalyst. Unlike potical groups, it has local permanent headquarters. Unlike churches, it is non-sectarian. Unlike schools, its services are not limited to children. It can be hospitable to those activities which help people to know one another. It can employ library personnel who pay special attention to the community of which they are a part.

It would be naive to think that the library's provision of facilities it considers beneficial would be eagerly lapped up by a grateful public, with a better world around the corner. The feeble voice of the public library in the civic chorus becomes illuminated when one actively seeks reference to it in the literature on suburbia. *Crestwood Heights,* an agonizingly detailed 500 pages on the minutiae of upper middle class life, details the decors and seating arrangements of specific schools, but does not mention the existence of a library. A study on the creative use of leisure time, listing community resources, does not include the library. (3) Wood, in his study of the political processes operative in suburbia, terms "wistful," the "standards librarians would like to see to ensure their citizenry's enlightenment and commitment to vigorous life." (25, p. 202) Nowhere are the libraries the subject of thoughtful scrutiny. So the analyst of the suburban library must consider not only details in direction, but whether it should maintain its Milquetoast image or is justified in seeking a larger, more aggressive role in the shaping of societal values.

Reading provides no directives. Yet in the thinking this paper has engendered, it is abundantly clear that there exists no public forum in which the basic values and goals of our society are consciously

scrutinized. Certainly many individuals and groups do so. Values are the concern of the churches. Inculcation of values is a basic element in the educational process, but this process reflects, rather than questions. Churches and political groups bring to any discussion of values a preconceived framework and point of view. Once the public library was termed the poor man's university, granting access to the knowledge and stimulation of books. Universities no longer are the province of the few. But a university's role in the realm of ideas is not merely to bring together book and learner; it provides discipline and interplay as well. Beyond the college years, inquiry becomes an individual pursuit, and because it is demanding and there are so many other pressures on one's time, it remains neglected. The library of today, in renewing its heritage, need not only have books available for the seeker, but should prod its latent public, invite it, seek interplay of man with man and not just book alone. The library may be too far on the perimeter to serve as a vital force in improving the ethos of a society; it can, however, offer resources to aid in the good fight. To the extent that it is cognizant of its role, it can be more effective.

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THE URBAN NEGRO AND THE LIBRARY

By NANCY W. CORRIGAN

In considering the relationship of the urban Negro and the public library, it is necessary to consider the various factors which affect this relationship and some of the characteristics of the "urban Negro".

It must be pointed out that urban Negroes are not a homogeneous group. Middle-class and even upper-class individuals may fall into this category. In general, however, as users or potential users of the library, such persons would probably not have needs very different from those to be anticipated from anyone of a similar socioeconomic rank. The focus of this paper will, therefore, be essentially toward the disadvantaged, lower-class groups.

While there are non-Negroes who fall into the disadvantaged category, there is one essential difference. Negroes are not white. Unlike lower-class non-Negroes, neither they nor their children can lose this characteristic which sets them apart from all other groups. The avenues of assimilation used by immigrant groups such as name-changing, intermarriage, and eventual dispersion throughout the population have not been available. Negroes who have succeeded in escaping from poverty seem frequently to have done so by becoming entertainers, athletes, or criminals, or by getting a good education although in the past even acquiring a good education did not reward Negroes to anywhere near the same extent as whites.

Severe educational retardation is one of the crucial factors in the cycle of poverty in which so many urban Negroes find themselves. Negroes who migrate to the cities frequently come from areas where what education was offered them was inferior and many are functional illiterates. This adversely affects their chances of getting a job. What jobs they do get are usually low paid, unskilled, temporary jobs. They cannot pay for decent housing or, if they can, it is generally public housing which does not come near to accommodating all those who need it. Moreover, "the fundamental, overwhelming fact is that Negro

unemployment, with the exception of a few years during World War II and the Korean War, has continued at disaster levels for 35 years." (19, p. 20)

As Oscar Steiner points out in *Downtown, U.S.A.*:

> Once you get into the range of lower-income families, the startling truth appears — that one out of every four American families live in homes that are inadequate, deteriorating, and that are seedbeds of slum areas. Of the 45 million non-farm dwellings in this country, 12 million fall into this 'sub-standard' category. Five of these 12 million are still repairable, provided improvements are made promptly. Seven million are unfit for human habitation. The appalling fact is that more than one of every seven urban families live in a dwelling unfit for human habitation. Such housing tends to make these families regard themselves as second and third rate citizens, with grievances against the society of which they are a part. (17, p. 41)
>
> There are convulsive agonies in the highly intensified problems of housing and its concomitant, the schools to which the family sends its children. As a consequence of the insufficient or unbalanced availability of decent low and middle-income home residences, there are slums — old and new. Where there are slums, there are crimes and health hazards — the normal handmaidens of depressed areas — and the not too suppressed bitterness and tension of increasing racial passions. This is particularly true in human relations involving the growing nonwhite population of the large cities. (17, p. 35)

Poor housing and the stresses associated with it are factors contributing to poor health which impairs the capacity of adults to work, contributes to high infant mortality, may impair the intelligence of children before they are born through the mother's inadequate diet (13, p. 111), and interferes with children's learning in school. Frequently there is a failure to recognize health problems, scarcity of funds to pay for medical services, ignorance of the existence of free care, or unwillingness to use it.

In the summer of 1965, in a survey made in Boston of more than 1,400 pre-school children, it was found that approximately one-third of them were "seriously ill and in urgent need of medical care." (15, p. 347) At a Project Head Start center in Tampa, Florida, twelve tubercular cases were brought to light and fifty children were found to have nutritional deficiencies. (5, p. 58) These factors — inade-

quate, overcrowded housing, poor health, low educational level, high unemployment level — all contribute to an unstable family life. A Department of Labor publication about the "Negro Family" which recently received much attention states:

> At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family.
>
> It is the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time. (19, p. 5)
>
> At the center of the tangle of pathology is the weakness of the family structure. Once or twice removed, it will be found to be the principal source of social behavior that did not establish, but now serves to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and deprivation. (19, p. 18)

The obvious results of this family pathology are stated very clearly by Lee N. Robins:

> One would infer from these findings that minority groups are handicapped in their efforts to improve their socioeconomic status. We also found that parents with a high rate of nonconformity with social norms produce children with a high rate of behavior problems. Therefore, minority groups with a high rate of social problems will presumably hand these problems on to the next generation, which will in turn prevent the upward social mobility of the second generation. Social problems, in short, tend to be self-perpetuating: those who have them fail to rise, and produce children who will also demonstrate a high rate of social problems and fail to rise. (14, p. 207)

On the other hand, approximately half of the Negro community are in the middle class. The Labor Department report comments:

> There is considerable evidence that the Negro community is in fact dividing between a stable middle-class group that is steadily growing stronger and more successful, and an increasingly disorganized and disadvantaged lower-class group. There are indications, for example, that the middle-class Negro family puts a higher premium on family stability and the conserving of family resources than does the white middle-class family. (19, p. 5, 6)

While many Negroes have been successful, many more are falling behind. Yet the fact that many Negroes have been successful despite their skin color indicates that it can be done. It will be necessary to intervene in the poverty cycle at some point so that those from un-

stable families will have a better chance to succeed than they have now. To the extent that Negroes use their power at the polls, they may be able to open up more areas of opportunity for the members of their communities, get better public services, better schools and libraries, increased job opportunities, and effective open-occupancy legislation.

There is at present an increasing trend for white middle-class families living in cities to move to the suburbs as soon as they feel they can afford to. The cities are being left to Negroes who are prevented by discrimination from moving into the suburbs even when they can afford to and to those others, both Negro and white, who remain because of economic circumstances. (17, p. 29) As the more privileged white middle class leaves, political power will shift to the Negroes who remain behind. This is a trend in many large cities. The population of Washington, D.C., is more than fifty-five per cent nonwhite. The reluctance of Congress to grant home rule to the District of Columbia might well be interpreted as resistance of a white power structure to the political aspirations of Negroes. The District of Columbia Board of Trade, a white businessmen's association, has through the years testified against home rule before Congressional Committees.

In Massachusetts, a state with a very small Negro population, about two per cent of the total, a Negro won the state race for the office of Attorney General. In Cleveland, Ohio, in November 1965, a Negro candidate for mayor came so close to winning the mayoralty race that he asked for a recount. Although he did not win, this was a serious challenge to the *status quo* and a good illustration of the Negro's growing political power.

The trend toward concentration of Negro populations in cities with its potential shift of power toward Negroes has implications not only for the cities themselves, but also for their states and for the national government. As a result of the recent Supreme Court decision on reapportionment of state legislatures, state governments, long dominated by rural interests because of malapportionment, will become more representative of the interests of metropolitan areas. This should provide Negroes with the opportunity to send to state legislatures and to Congress persons who can represent them. Moreover, to the extent that they are an urban group, their interests are those of city dwellers and having urban interests represented would tend to be to their benefit whether they were specifically represented or not. In addition, the Department of Urban Affairs recently established should, when put

into operation, provide urban dwellers with another point of access to the Federal Government.

Negroes represent a political force in cities simply because of their numbers combined with the fact that segregation has given them a sense of collective identity. Negroes have in addition formed many groups, thus increasing their political strength through organizations. In most cities there are branches of national or regional organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Urban League.

There are purely local organizations such as, in Washington, the Coalition of Conscience, or, in Cleveland, the Hough Area Council. Also groups may be formed to meet some immediate need as with the Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott and other such civil rights activities. There are newspapers serving the Negro community which may help to arouse their readers and focus and sustain their attention on issues of importance to the Negro community.

There are also organizations not specifically Negro, but rather "liberal" which fight some of the same battles as the Negro organizations. These groups include the Americans for Democratic Action, the National Civil Liberties Union, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the Southern Education Foundation, the American Jewish Committee, and the National Council of Churches.

There are also groups which have become a focus of political interest, such as Project Head Start and War on Poverty projects or Haryou. These projects were envisioned as essentially educational. There was, however, an attempt to involve the poor in the local administration of the War on Poverty which aroused high feeling in the communities involved. People in these areas became actively concerned with these projects as a result and, although their political interests have not been measured, they have undoubtedly become more politically aware. Local organizations have helped to stir up interest in these conflicts and Negro newspapers have contributed in these efforts by giving extensive coverage.

The NAACP, one of the earliest civil rights groups, adopted pressure group tactics and exerted influence on public opinion, legislative bodies, administrative agencies, and the courts.

> The Negro's gains in public transportation, public accommodations, employment, housing, and education are not adequately

> explained as the result of NAACP activity, to be sure, but it seems probable that without the initiation of action and the unremitting pressure exerted by this militant organization, these changes would not have been effected. (16, p. 75)

Organization is a key source of political power. While not all members of Negro communities are members of an organization, the power these groups have, combined with the potential political power of the total Negro community, makes the Negroes a group to be reckoned with. There will be a tendency of whites with entrenched interests, to say nothing of traditional prejudices, to want to maintain the *status quo ante*. (20, p. 21) The white power structure will have to be flexible in dealing with this group in order not to arouse the hostility of those who could through voting, control or swing the balance of power in their cities.

> Negroes meet the massive entrenched interests of whites in the perpetuation of invidious distinctions, forced segregation, discrimination in housing, education and employment, and white political supremacy. These advantages are not lightly relinquished by whites. (20, p. 16)

The character of the Negro-white conflict creates a situation which may tend to aggravate tensions. Unfortunately it sometimes takes a while before white leaders find that the persons with whom they have been dealing are not the real leaders of the Negro community. During this time lag, progress will be held up. In addition, Negro leaders are put in the position of having to make extreme demands in order to avoid or repudiate charges of "Uncle Tomism." They may feel that they have to "deliver," accomplish something dramatic NOW, particularly to keep the more radically inclined from becoming disaffected and striking out on their own. (20, pp. 18, 19)

> The 1940's and 1950's continued and accelerated processes that have since the turn of the century transformed an unorganized population of a low-status social category into a mass collectivity increasingly capable of concerted action. As of *circa* 1900, Negro Americans constituted a largely rural population heavily concentrated in the Southern states — a population that was uneducated, unskilled, poor, unorganized, inarticulate, scattered, disenfranchised, politically impotent, and terrorized. As of 1964, the Negro population has gained greatly in education and skill; has developed a small but important upper middle class; has nation-wide means of communication — especially

> the 'Negro press'; has become 'Northern' and 'urban'; has gained greatly in organization and in legal and political skills and powers. Marked increases have occurred in group pride, in awareness of collective aims, and in group pressure and sense of ingroup obligations. Both cultural and social-system processes have joined to contribute to these results . . . (20, p. 10)

For some members of the Negro community conditions are improving in terms of education, occupation, and income. (4, p. 248) At the middle level in these areas they compare favorably with whites although they are falling behind whites in terms of income. Robin Williams speaks of positive changes in Negro character which, while only emerging today, have long-range significance.

> In spite of increased alienation and despair among some segments of the population, the evidence indicates that on the whole Negroes have become more knowledgeable, assertive, and eager in their orientation to the future; group pride and sense of collective fate and membership have increased, and group rejection and self-hate have decreased. (20, p. 16)

Of those for whom conditions are not improving, Richard B. Moses has observed:

> Their environment is narrowness and discouragement itself, almost totally lacking in opportunities to stimulate and challenge the intellect, to broaden the frame of reference. Gradually, I would imagine, in his unceasing effort to survive, the individual's energies are turned inward. He simply loses interest in anything outside his own elemental, personal needs. (10, p. 102)

In terms of library service we are looking at two groups. We have a stable middle class which can see the advantage of education and the importance to them of that educational adjunct, the library. This group is concerned about the public services available to it and has recently, in the wake of civil rights conflicts, been very willing to speak out about schools. Hence we may assume that when and if they feel library service is inadequate, they will not hesitate to make their dissatisfaction known. As their increasing political power is recognized and respected, they will be able to achieve their objectives.

Since members of the Negro middle class are frequently forced by segregation to live closer to lower-class groups — if not actually among them — than others of their socioeconomic level, there arises a forced

sense of equality and their interests will be closer to those of the lower class than might otherwise be the case. Hence the gains they make will directly benefit their less advantaged neighbors. Moreover, they are likely to be concerned with the welfare of the lower-class groups since, unfortunately, the Negro community is frequently judged by its worst products.

From this middle class group come many of the Negro leaders who will work for the betterment of conditions in the worst areas of the ghetto. These people are likely to get a hearing at least of their requests as whites can no longer ignore or practice self-deception about the Negro. This likelihood may be increased by some form of turmoil such as a school boycott. Frequently, however, the improvements seem to be superficial, temporary, stop-gap sorts of solutions. The furor eventually dies down and it is observed that nothing has really changed.

The protest movements of recent years have persisted. Negro pressure groups and their white allies have enthusiastically kept up their activities: demonstrations, rent strikes, school board sit-ins, school boycotts, selective buying. From the various protest groups and their activities nation-wide there has developed a genuine social movement which seems to be growing and gaining allies. This movement has produced a protest literature which particularly appeals to the young people in the movement. While there is still a great deal of opposition, there is, nevertheless, a growing recognition of the legitimacy of Negro goals. Among young people the Negro protest has caused a genuine reevaluation of the goals of Democracy.

How can the library help Negroes to reach their goals? What has it done? Has the library tried to see how the needs of the Negro community differed from those of middle-class white groups and tried to offer services that were directed toward what has been a nonprint-oriented community? If the people in lower-income areas use the library very little, what keeps them away and how could they be encouraged to come in?

Until the protest movements which started in 1955 with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, not much attention had been paid to Negro needs. In the years following this boycott, various demonstrations pointed up the many heretofore unnoticed inadequacies of public services to Negroes. Attention was frequently focussed on schools, but while libraries were not singled out and boycotted, they too were and probably still are inadequate. On the one hand, library service may be deficient because of lack of concern for serving the Negro community or, on the other hand, with the best good will in the world,

sincere efforts to serve the disadvantaged of the ghetto may fail if only traditional library services are offered. The needs of residents of depressed urban areas differ from the needs of comfortable, white, middle-class areas to which public library services have traditionally been oriented.

Is there a relationship between the location of a library and its availability to potential users? If libraries in Negro areas are few and far apart, this factor — possibly the result of discrimination — may make them unavailable to many potential users. The Library Access Survey findings indicate that the poorest library service in terms of geographical location and book collections was consistently found in Negro neighborhoods of both Southern and non-Southern cities. While this situation may indicate discrimination, does it have any real relevance to the problems of serving nonprint-oriented people? Could libraries, without some radical alterations in attitude, serve the people of these neighborhoods if there were a library with a first-rate book collection in every block?

What does the library purport to do for people? Essentially to provide them with books — books for recreation, books for education and information. Are these purposes relevant to the lives of the disadvantaged? No. In terms of the lives of this group, traditional service approaches are unrealistic. Since this urban group tends to have few years of schooling and that schooling frequently inadequate, many are either illiterate or functionally illiterate, and reading is not only laboured but, among the young, may be considered "square."

The library in a depressed area is an alien institution. It is not there in response to needs of the area residents. It represents the cultural values of the white middle class. The atmosphere is uncomfortably quiet and dignified. Potential users may feel ill at ease with well-dressed, well-educated, middle-class librarians who live in another part of town and who may try to induce them to take "good" books which because of their poor education may not be helpful to them. Such circumstances make them acutely aware of their inadequacies, creating ego-threatening situations which might well discourage all but the most determined from returning. Even if libraries were very accessible physically, there is a question as to how accessible they are psychologically.

In considering this problem of serving the disadvantaged, one librarian has written:

> We create ingenious and inspired programs, but programs predicated on the availability of experienced library users, good readers and discussers; we persist in the delusion that enlargement of our traditional services will somehow magically bring in the poor; we carefully analyze, for use in 'the war,' problems we have with present library users, teen-age and otherwise, especially in our reading rooms. This is, I'm afraid a fair manifestation of the history of the public library; the problems of the truly impoverished and their culture of the 'twisted spirit' have not yet entered our thinking. (10, p. 101)

What new approaches to library service for the disadvantaged might be considered? In a 1964 conference on Library Service for the Disadvantaged, one of the participants pointed out that it had been the experience of her agency that the culturally deprived, multi-problem group did not seek help, that it was necessary to reach out to them. In light of this comment a program in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of New York City is interesting. There a librarian serves as a full-time liaison officer between the library and individuals, organizations, and institutions in the community. Among his activities are speaking before various organizations, preparing blibliographies or exhibits for them, writing for a local newspaper, being a discussion leader in a young teen's group. A library advisory committee was organized with the library which planned a Negro history class, sponsored a homework study club and interested people in volunteering as tutors. Not only does the library through this program reach out to serve its community, but also is better prepared to do so because, through its community coordinator, it is kept in contact with the needs of the community. (18, pp. 65-67)

One of the suggestions frequently seen for improving library service to Negro neighborhoods is that of "strengthening the book collection." This might be done by acquiring more books by Negro authors, books about Negroes, children's books which show Negro children, materials for poor readers. Such acquisitions are undoubtedly desirable, but still there is the problem of getting someone to use them. A more aggressive program with a community coordinator might well help to solve this problem.

The younger the age at which people are started on the road to reading, the more chance there may be that they can be helped significantly. Several New York libraries have started programs for pre-school children intended to orient them to books and reading and to

prepare them emotionally and socially for formal school experiences. For these children books which portray Negro children and books which help to enhance their self-image are important. Dr. Kenneth Clark suggests that children might be enticed into the libary by tutoring and remedial reading programs which may provide them with reading "success," and by music rooms which might give them some peace. (12, p. 10)

Reading success is important to adults also. In a study which investigated two branch libraries in low-income areas, one in Cleveland, Ohio, and one in Baltimore, Maryland, it was found that both branches offered children's and young adult services *for adults*. Also they have booklists such as "Readable Books for Adult Students". (6, p. 84)

What of those who cannot be served by reading material? Is there anything the library can do for them? For the idle young, story hours could be offered, particularly in after-school hours when many "key children" are left to fend for themselves until an adult comes home. Such a program would serve several purposes — keeping the children off the streets and out of trouble; introducing them to new ideas; putting them in a social situation to which they must adapt; and, in a milieu where they may be very isolated from adult contacts, putting them in contact with a sympathetic adult.

Appropriate films and records could be offered to adults and children. There should be a minimum of formality and no "pushing" of books. At the branch public library in Cleveland mentioned above, it was found that efforts to tie in books to their film programs discouraged attendance. Interviews showed that they were reaching with the film programs an audience that might otherwise not have been served. (6, p. 90)

Baltimore librarian Richard B. Moses agrees that films should not be used as subterfuges for book talks. He has commented about the relative value of films and reading material for disadvantaged youth:

> To be sure, reading is the most varied, most comprehensive way in which to feast on knowledge, but reading is also a 'different' thing. You do it alone, in quiet, in long stretches of time. Furthermore, you do it in the face of pervading social norms which equate it with some sort of abnormality. To be modern, then, young people not only need interest, they've got to have guts. My teenagers have little of these things. It is the loud, fast-

> moving, 'normal', hang-together crowd that means life itself to them.
>
> So I show them films — all kinds of films. They come voluntarily and I expose them to the world and its ideas and people. Painless exposure, but they are exposed nonetheless. . . . I feed them ideas and experiences on film. The books will come later — maybe — but only after curiosity about the world is whetted and some pattern of satisfying it encouraged.

Mr. Moses has stated very well the role of the library in serving the disadvantaged:

> We are deluding ourselves, I think, if we believe that we can arouse interest in reading by beginning with a book. It will first be necessary to break through the barriers of cynicism, suspicion, and intellectual lassitude in order to stimulate the natural curiosity. This means simply making available as many and as varied an array of new experiences as possible. The library, more than any other institution, has at its disposal this wide variety of experiences.
>
> . . . the public library must here and now stop thinking of itself as merely a repository for books and a self-enclosed mission for the printed word. It must begin to realize a new image as a storehouse and purveyor of ideas and a distributor of experiences; in short, as a disseminator of the culture and works of mankind regardless of the form in which they are available. We must stop thinking of the film, the recording, the art print, even the trip to the zoo or concert hall as being beyond the realm of library responsibility or simply adjuncts to more or 'better' reading. In fact, these materials and activities must be recognized for what they are: legitimate library fare to be used when needed even as ends in themselves.
>
> Here in Baltimore, the city's CANDO program will hopefully improve living conditions, brighten the employment and health pictures, lift the educational levels. The question remains: what then? What happens now that the 'other American's' mind is free from the stark struggle of survival? What happens when his dreams are emancipated too? The answer is the library. Our task is to respond to these questions, to meet the needs not only of the literarily disadvantaged, but of the cul-

> turally hungry as well. There can be little doubt but that ultimately, if interest in the world around them has been aroused, books will come into play as the final feeding place of the inquiring mind. (10, pp. 102, 103)

The public library is, as its name implies, a public institution, a branch of government. The Federal government has recently become concerned with the problems of the Negro and with the problems of poverty and has initiated programs on a local level throughout the country. Local governments have responded with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The public library should participate in these projects as in some cities they do. Regardless of their city's official participation in Federal or state projects, however, public libraries should seek to position themselves in the main current of changes now taking place in government and society and endeavor actively to aid, support, and encourage previously neglected groups such as the urban Negro. They should include in their goals not only aiding those who ask for help but also those who don't — the latter may need help more. The public library should be an active, energetic agent in the movement to create a great society in which there will be no underprivileged.

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LABOR AND LIBRARIES

By SYLVIA GOODSTEIN

The library's public should be thought of as a conglomerate of many publics each with its own variety of individual and group interests, tastes and needs. This paper proposes to look at one such significant public on the American scene — the public comprised of labor and the laboring class. In the past the public library has not had the support of this group nor has it served it. Nor will it in the future unless it re-directs its efforts and its resources. In this paper the writer has looked at the key facts about the labor scene, the blue-collar worker and the labor unions. These findings form the bases for interpreting the public library's relationships with labor.

The Shifting Labor Picture

Although much has been written about the changes in society occurring because of technological advances, we have yet to examine what these changes mean from the humanistic point of view. Technological changes may mean increased and faster production but may also bring displacement of workers by machines. Also to be dealt with are the unsettling societal effects of displaced workers who must pack up their skills, leave their homes and travel elsewhere to earn their livelihood; as well as the need to absorb the shock of a half million new workers entering the labor market each year.

The changes occurring in the work force over the next decade will be of great magnitude. According to Jack Conway, "we will be confronted with unemployment problems so serious in proportion and affecting different groups of people disproportionately, (that) we are going to have to abandon some of our old concepts." (3, p. 5) This raises the question of the whole concept of work as we know it. Not only is the work pace changing radically but so are the kinds of jobs in the factories. And the ability of private industry to provide new jobs is substantially questioned.

Another fundamental force affecting the entire area of union organization efforts and thus the kind of labor movement we will have ten years from now is a most significant shift in the focus of the nation's work force. The change in the work force has become so pronounced that as Walter Reuther points out: (9, p. 49)

> It is no longer correct to call the United States an industrial economy. It is now a service economy that includes wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate services and general government. The United States has become the first nation in history where the service sector of the economy accounts for more than half of total employment and more than half of the gross national product.

The blue-collar worker is now outnumbered by the rapidly expanding categories of white-collar workers. The production worker is no longer in the majority. Instead the majority is held by the office clerks, technicians, the professional workers and the workers in service industries. (9, p. 59-60)

This fundamental shift in the work force will become even more pronounced as automation and technological change accelerate throughout the economy. In the next decade we can expect a work force showing a substantial increase among young workers, women and nonwhites. The younger workers entering the work force under 25 years of age will be better educated than their predecessors. They will, therefore, be able to move into more desirable jobs. But the great lag is among older adult workers. These workers are educationally disadvantaged for tomorrows' labor market and therefore there is a continuing need for basic education and retraining designed to meet the special problems of these many displaced older workers. Even the highly educated older workers will have to update their skills in order to keep pace with the rapid development of new knowledge and techniques.

How is the trade union movement equipping itself to meet these changes? Joseph Beirne states that: (1, p. 16)

> In limited areas there are those in the leadership ranks of the labor movement who try to peer around the corner to prepare themselves for what they will meet when they are forced to turn it. The answers, so far, have been in terms of the world of yesterday rather than the world of tomorrow.

Five occupational groups stand out in future union growth: office workers; engineers and scientists; retail sales employees; school teachers; and local, state and federal government employees. The same organizing tactics can not be used to attract and hold these workers as were used in organizing the mass industries such as the steel and automobile industry. The white-collar worker presents a new breed of union member with somewhat different values and objectives.

*The Blue-Collar Worker and his Family**

Although the blue-collar worker is decreasing in numbers, he still comprises a considerable percentage of our working population. In 1964 over 25 million were employed in non-agricultural, manual labor. (6)

What are the essential characteristics of the stable American blue-collar worker today? According to studies he is traditional, old-fashioned, somewhat religious and patriarchal. The blue-collar worker likes discipline, structure, order, organization and directive. He reads ineffectively, is poorly informed in many areas and is often quite suggestable, although interestingly enough he is frequently suspicious of talk and newfangled ideas.

He is family centered; most of his relationships take place around his immediate family and extended family. Cooperation and mutual aid are among his most important characteristics.

While desiring a good standard of living, he is not attracted to the middle class style of life with its accompanying concern for status and prestige.

He is not class-conscious although aware of class differences. While he is somewhat radical on certain economic issues, he is quite illiberal on numerous matters, particularly civil liberties and foreign policy.

The outstanding weakness of the blue-collar worker is lack of education. Strongly desiring education for his children, he shows considerable concern about their school work, although he feels estranged and alienated from the teacher and the school as he similarly feels alienated from many institutions in our society.

The striving for stability and security is one of the central determinants in working-class life. This expresses itself in the philosophy of "getting by" rather than "getting ahead", which is the goal of the middle class. Part of the ambivalence toward obtaining a college education reflects the more emphasis on security. Even a highly talented

*Most of the material in this section is based on readings from *Blue-Collar World* edited by Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

working-class youth is not sure what he can do with a college diploma, and he may fear alienation from his family, friends, and community.

The workingman values people and feels that personal qualities are important. One learns more from people than from books.

With workers, it is the end result of action rather than the planning of action or the preoccupation with means that counts. It is results that pay off. The pragmatic orientation of workers does not encourage them to see abstract ideas as useful. Education, for what it does for one in terms of opportunities, may be desirable but abstract intellectual speculation, ideas which are not rooted in the realities of the present, are not useful, indeed may be harmful. Hence their suspicion of the intellectual, and institutions which are connected with the intellectual.

What happens to our workingman when he and his family move into the suburbs? Bennett Berger, who studied auto workers who moved into a suburb, found after two years that "the new phenomena is not middle class suburbia but rather the achievement by large numbers of wageworkers of income permitting them to buy new houses in the suburbs." (2, p. 39) He feels that they do not take on the style of the middle class in suburbia but extend their own style. One can speculate whether after a few more years of suburban living they would not tend to become more assimilated into the middle class environment.

However, education is one of the areas in which working-class expression of attitudes appears increasingly to approximate those of the middle class. Where once the working class could see little value in higher education, it is now commonplace for working-class parents to express their educational aspirations for their children. They want them to go to college. Yet a college education tends to have quite different meanings for the working class and middle class. Education is regarded as preparation for a job and a better education is seen as leading to a better job and greater job security. Thus, education is conceived of quite narrowly as vocational training and a kind of entry card to an occupation.

Although the blue-collar worker has aspirations for his children, he does not apply them to his own situation. Faced by the stresses of unemployment either in potential or actual form, the worker shows little or no inclination to change trades or skills or to enhance his store of skills by training or retraining. In many instances this attitude is strengthened by reliance on his welfare pension fund rights in relation to the length of service.

The wife of the workingman belongs to one of the largest and most neglected groups in our population. The workingman's wife has no collective voice. She is basically unorganized. She is neither a joiner nor a participant. She is usually a stranger to her husband's union. Organized labor, the group that touches her life most closely, has been grossly neglectful of the worker's wife. When women's auxiliaries are organized in the local union, the union man will often complain about an invasion of jurisdiction. The union has by and large failed to mobilize the support and enormous political potential of the union wife.

The wife of the workingman is more exposed to middle class attitudes and values through the mass media, and, although her feelings about herself may remain the same, she is more likely to assume middle class values and attitudes before her husband.

Worker as a citizen and community member. The working classes are more likely to be isolated from activities, issues and associations at the community level because their close-knit family life lessens their contacts with others different from themselves.

> The extent to which any segment of a society's population belongs to voluntary associations is important, because associations are means through which individuals cope with their environment. . . .
>
> In a modern, large-scale democratic society, voluntary associations are means for furthering the political and economic interests of individuals. This implies that political effectiveness demands that the individual participate in the political processes as a member of an organization. His organizational membership, therefore, serves the further function of helping him transcend his routinized day-to-day activities on the job and in the family by establishing linkages with the broader community and society. (10, p. 207)

However, surveys have shown that the working class does not join associations in any great numbers. The Berger study showed that "higher income groups participate in organizations to a much greater extent than lower income groups." (2, p. 30) There was no evidence that participation in formal associations has increased since workers moved to the suburbs. There was very little formal participation — 70 percent of the workers belonged to no clubs, organizations or associations. Among wives, 64 percent belonged to no groups. (10)

On the basis of a study of particular groups of blue-collar workers, suburbanization appears to have had some effect on their union activity. A few became anti-union or more politically conservative, some became less active in their unions. But all suburban blue-collar workers did not follow this trend. Those who remained close to their work groups remained active in their unions and, generally, loyal to union principles.

What does this mean for the future? The increased suburban trend will probably lead to less active participation in unions and less frequent attendance at union meetings.

Leisure. Blue-collar workers differ from their white-collar counterparts in reading fewer books and periodicals, attending fewer movies, lectures, concerts and theaters and displaying less interest in art and music, while spending more time watching TV, working on automobiles and going for automobile rides, playing cards, fishing and tavern-visiting. Leisure activity is centered around home and family.

A small study of the reading habits of workers showed that western and detective paperbacks were very popular. All read at least one newspaper. Magazines were present in every home — *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest* were the most popular. The types of magazines were sporting, mechanical, adventure or home and housekeeping. Bernard Berelson pointed out that "wage earners (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers) represent the smallest users of the library — only about ten percent of the total registrants." (1A, p. 33)

Some specialists in this area have concluded that a rise in income is not likely to produce a change in the way of life and subculture of the workingman. Workers are not, on the whole, rising in social status even though their collective economic mobility is unquestioned. The reduction in the hours of labor has brought about a limited creativity which involves the use of manual skills around the home, but self-education, development of a high esthetic sense, a greater civic participation and more sophisticated political and ideological questions are generally not included in this "new leisure."

Therefore, we may surmise from the previous statements that if a change in the subculture is to be made, it will be made by the children of the blue-collar workers rather than among the workers themselves.

Adult Education. Vocational motivation is very strong among blue-collar workers. In order to retrain workers, the emerging and available employment opportunities must be known and this information used to improve the retraining curricula. Blue-collar workers are reluctant to take part in adult education programs, especially those

programs which are not vocationally oriented. But the amount of time available for leisure pursuits is growing and it is growing proportionately faster for the blue-collar segment than for the white-collar segment of society. The increasing automation in industry will accelerate this trend and the blue-collar worker is likely to be the major recipient of this trend. The constructive use of leisure time is, then, one of the major dilemmas to be faced by blue-collar workers and it is one for which they are, of all the groups in society, least prepared.

Labor Unions

Over the years unions have made many contributions to our democratic society. The United States, once the world citadel of the open shop system, is now a nation in which most basic industries are unionized. Collective bargaining is a process permanently written into the law. (12)

Not only did the union movement win improvements in wages, hours, in plant bargaining and fringe benefits, more significantly it has become a counterbalancing force in the economy to the power of big industry and manufacturers. It won enough organizational battles and political victories to help create the "built-in stabilizers" in our fluctuating economy: unemployment insurance, social security, union contracts which placed a floor under wages. Labor survived the stresses of World War II, the postwar crises and a multiplicity of problems as only a sturdy social movement could do.

But what of the outlook today? Some of labor's critics have pointed to the fact that "the American trade-union movement is on the downgrade, its spirits low, its operations static, its horizons narrow and its public image dismal." (12, p. 34) Others have pointed out that the American trade-union movement is less of the dedicated cause today and to many of its followers and supporters it has lost some of its glamour, prestige, and moral effectiveness. Its public image has been tarnished; and as far as the public generally is concerned, labor now is just another pressure group. These attitudes both within and without the labor movement have tended to isolate it from the mainstream of American intellectual life.

Much of the movement's old rough and tumble vigor is gone; there is institutional inertia where there once was vitality and forward movement. Labor boasts of more maturity and responsibility; compared with the past, this is essentially conservatism.

However, unions are facing many real and pressing problems in today's society and perhaps their foremost problem is a stagnation of membership, which most labor experts agree threatens to sap the movement's strength unless it soon is corrected.

The number of workers belonging to unions reached a record high of 17.5 million in 1956, but by the end of 1964 membership had fallen to 16.8 million. This drop came despite a 5.7 million rise in the non-agricultural labor force during that time. So labor's share of the work force has declined to 28.9 percent from 33.4 percent in 1956. (7)

This situation has come about largely because technology has been eating into the blue-collar jobs, where unions are strong, while they have been unable to recoup with gains among white-collar workers, where jobs are soaring.

Political activities. Unlike most European labor movements, organized labor in the United States has never put major reliance upon formal political action to attain its goals. For many years the AFL actually opposed legislation in hours and minimum wages on the grounds that working conditions could best be improved by the organized efforts of the workers themselves through bargaining with their employers. Although organized labor during the past 30 years has actively sought the enactment of specific legislation and the election of candidates favorable to such legislation, it has never seriously considered the establishment of a labor party. (8)

From the date of its formation until the 1940's the AFL followed a nonpartisan political policy of supporting its friends and opposing its enemies regardless of their party affiliations. This nonpartisanship was based on the belief that partisan politics might create dissension among its members and turn their attention away from trade union matters. It was also thought that neutrality was more effective for obtaining political concessions since so long as no slate of candidates was automatically assured of labor's endorsement, competing candidates must bid for union member support. If labor should identify itself with any particular party, it would lose all its political influence whenever that party was defeated.

From its inception the CIO adopted a policy of vigorous activity in political affairs. In 1936 various CIO unions, joined by several AFL nationals established a Labor's Non-Partisan League which campaigned for the re-election of the New Deal administration and eight years later its Political Action Committee carried on a program which is generally conceded to have been a major influence in the election of President Roosevelt for his fourth term.

The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 caused all branches of the labor movement to reconsider their former policies with respect to political activity. The AFL established Labor's League for Political Education and the CIO had its already functioning PAC. They put their strength behind President Truman and his Fair Deal but they were unable to get a sufficient number of friendly Congressmen elected to carry out the program.

Since the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955, the Committee on Political Education known as COPE seeks to inform union members and their friends about the important issues and candidates. The AFL-CIO works almost exclusively through the Democratic Party.

One wonders why is labor so big and yet so lacking in political influence? Labor is increasingly wedded to the Democratic Party. But if it disapproves of the actions of the party what can labor do about it. It can protest loudly but what other recourse is open. Such is labor's political dilemma. It was pointed out that labor, representing the largest economic group in our present population, which although far from a majority, has fewer representatives in legislative halls and in other high offices than the military, the businessmen, the farmers and many relatively small professional groups. In fact, what is most probable for the next period in American politics is a continuation of this trend in which the union movement as such plays a lesser role on the national scene. (12)

Basically union political influence tends to be limited by the attitudes of the masses of rank and file union members who view their unions solely as agencies established for somewhat limited purposes rather than as an organization to which they turn for the solution of a wide range of problems confronting them as citizens as well as workers. Union members and their families comprise at least a third of the electorate of the country. However, organized labor has seldom been able to deliver the vote which its numerical strength would seem to make possible.

Implications for the Public Library

Before we consider future relationships for the public library with labor, let us look at what labor has done for the public library and what the public library has done for labor in the past.

Guy Garrison in his study of two separate elections on a library bond issue in Akron, Ohio, in analyzing the census tracts found that areas high in numbers of industrial workers (those classed as craftsmen, operators and laborers by the census) tended to be low in favor-

able votes on the library bond issues. The tracts with more industrial workers had a smaller percentage of registered voters and a lower percentage of registered voters who turned out on election day. (5)

Such support seems even less likely in the future as the workingman moves out to the suburbs. We have seen a changing picture of the blue-collar worker. Such workers whether union members or not are well-paid as compared with the past. A large percentage are likely to be property owners, living in suburban areas instead of factory neighborhoods. Suburban blue-collar workers, we have seen, are not likely to be users or supporters of the public library. In fact, living in the suburbs tends to make him conservative in supporting any community development and improvement which might mean higher taxes.

How can one explain the fact that middle-income working-class areas are the least likely to vote for the library? This opposition can be explained partly in economic terms but may reflect as much the alienation of the public library from the everyday interests of the ordinary citizens who fill these middle-income working-class neighborhoods and who have little interest in governmental services beyond the necessary and basic ones.

This is borne out in Garceau's study of the public library. He points out that in the past the public library played a very important role in providing books to immigrant workers in their native language. But since then the library has not been able to come up with another cause. He goes on to say that not more than a half dozen libraries of the 60 libraries used in the sample have made serious efforts to make the members of labor unions library users, and those that have are not encouraged by the results. (4)

Garceau's study was published in 1949. A later study by Helen Lyman Smith published in 1954 showed that of 1,692 libraries queried on services to community groups, less than 10 percent served labor unions. It also pointed out that about 80 percent of the libraries queried made no study of their community needs and resources. (11)

Part of the library's problem of serving the labor force will be taken care of by the fact that if organized labor is even partially successful in organizing white-collar groups, then perhaps along with the present union emphasis on strictly bread and butter issues more weight will be given at local levels to educational needs, community roles and cultural goals. Such a change in emphasis by local labor unions could provide fertile soil for the growth of library service.

The library as an institution has been better able historically to relate to white-collar workers than it has to blue-collar workers.

Will the blue-collar worker ever be a library user? Probably not. But perhaps we can attract his wife with her middle-class leanings and very likely his college-educated children. The evidence thus far is against reaching the blue-collar worker by directly appealing to him, especially if we are not even aware of him as a person — what interests him and what are his problems. As we have mentioned previously, his interests are more outer-directed. People are more important than books. Western and detective paperbacks, sports and craft magazines make up a large part of his reading material. His problems may be retraining and re-education for his present job or for a future job. It may be relocation or retirement. We may also ask ourselves why bother? What do we want to get the worker into the library for? The library has a commitment to society and to all its publics. Although it takes on the coloration of a middle-class institution, its most important job is to the community — all segments of it. Therefore, the librarian in order to function effectively must be aware of his community — its composition, its needs. He must number the skills and sensitivities of an astute social scientist amongst his many other attributes. He may, even after all this effort, not get the worker into the library in any great numbers but he will at least have a more realistic picture of his community and who are the library users.

The best approach to the worker is through his union. Certainly the AFL-CIO has shown more than a passing interest in the public library. They have actively supported the Library Service Act legislation each time it has come up before Congress. They have also served on the Joint Committee on Library Service to Labor along with representatives from the American Library Association. This committee has been in existence over twenty years, and its aim is to encourage good working relationships between local unions and local libraries. They have sponsored several publications about the services rendered by the public library of which the most recent is a pamphlet entitled *Your Library Can Help Your Union.* We have the beginnings in a statement quoted from the above mentioned pamphlet: (13, p. 14)

> If labor made more demands of local librarians and if libraries had more support for the work they would like to do for labor, this story could be repeated elsewhere. Libraries, like other public agencies, respond to demand. They have limited funds, limited time and limited staffs. They hear demands for best sellers; they react to the demands of children and young people for story books; they try to satisfy the needs of businessmen who

> serve on their boards. They would respond just as eagerly if labor's demands were more persistent, urgent and precise.

As labor unions extend their spheres of activity and participate more fully at the local level, they will undoubtedly center more attention and tend to shift more of their resources in order to provide more organizing and political strength to state and local bodies. They have to do this for the same reasons the federal government must increase its assistance to regional, state and community areas: that's where the people and the problems are. American labor leaders have stated that organized labor will flourish only as it relates itself to the problems of the hard pressed cities and the needs of their citizens; it will flounder if it separates itself from this central task. Labor organizations' political education activities at the state and local levels also must be strengthened.

To carry out programs of the scope, importance and imagination needed will take an alert and knowledgeable union leadership at all levels. Education and training programs are advocated by some labor leaders to prepare leaders of organized labor to participate in planning boards, commissions, citizens' committees, policy boards, staff functions, school boards and community action programs. Understanding and providing assistance in meeting these needs could be considered an important library responsibility.

What is the future role of labor in the political arena and elsewhere in the years to come? Will it be the role that Mr. Widick foresees when he states: (12, pp. 139-140)

> The destiny of the Reverend Martin Luther King may have more to do with American politics than the voice of George Meany or Walter Reuther, since labor is no longer the focal point of moral outrage and protest, no longer the symbol of a crusade for the underdogs.

Or does the voice of Joseph Beirne ring out when he states: (1, p. 84)

> But we also conceive of the union movement of tomorrow as vastly more active on the community and political front, representing the member in many more phases of his secular life. Within this context the role of the local union becomes expanded and the role of local union officers as substantial members of the community becomes enlarged.
>
> More and more in the future we can expect that the local union leader will take his place in the community leadership along

> with the college president, the local banker, the prominent lawyer, the leading merchant, in assuming community responsibility, exercising influence, and receiving resultant prestige for service to the general well-being.

It will be interesting to see which view prevails. In either event the challenge of a bewildering variety of publics and subpublics to the library in the next five to ten years is clear.

In an interview with Mr. Jack Sessions, who is the AFL-CIO representative on the Joint Committee on Library Service to Labor, he was asked what he thought was the most effective point of contact for a librarian to make if he wanted to stir up interest in the library in his community among labor groups. He suggested that the officers of the joint labor boards or councils would be the key figures to approach on a community level. The librarian could then point out the many areas where the library might prove helpful to the union and to its members. This could cover the research needs of union officers and staff members as well as the educational and recreational needs of union members.*

The problems that labor is facing today due to technological changes in our society are not just labor's problems alone but needs the thinking and help of all levels of government and management. The public library as a vital force in the community can not stand aside and wait to be asked for aid and assistance but should have under preparation programs and plans which would tie into government, union and industry programs.

The agency which does this will win good will and support which will stand it in good political stead. Whether as an individual at the polls or through his union membership, the American laborer and his leaders will support an institution which identifies with him in important ways.

*No attempt was made to cover the various methods of servicing labor or the kinds of public relations program that the library can engage in to further these relationships with unions because this was very adequately covered in *Library Service to Labor* compiled by Dorothy Kuhn Oko and Bernard F. Downer, New York: Scarecrow Press, 1963.

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THE RADICAL RIGHT AND THE LIBRARY

By MARY ANN HAGUE

The focus of this paper will be broad, concentrating on the sociological and psychological factors associated with the radical right, as well as the character of current day groups. The rightist phenomenon is an old one in our history with only the groups, causes and actors changing in response to the unsettling issues of the moment. There is a wealth of literature on this subject contributed by journalists, historians, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, and concerned citizens, all disturbed by rightist activities. Sometimes it seems that interview schedules and questions in studies are unfavorably loaded against these groups; yet the congruency of their findings is striking.

Why is there all this concern and distaste for the radical right? And in particular why should librarians be bothered? This infection has dominated certain localities and tainted a few states; nonetheless, this faction has been a small, circumscribed minority nationwide. However, the spectre of that minority of Nazis and Fascists using the frustrations and stresses of the majority to gain power haunts many. Part of the tragedy is that the explicitly expressed Nazi ideology and cynicism toward democratic institutions was not taken seriously. The most disturbing aspect of the radical right is that they have no appreciation of our American *democratic* heritage, nor of the essence of democratic governmental machinery, despite their loud protestations that nobody else in this soft and decadent time measures up to their standards of true, blue American patriotism.

A democracy, as Huxley postulates in *Ends and Means,* (44) must ever be careful of its means — means such as those circumscribed by our Bill of Rights — for foul means contaminate most worthy ends. After all it is the means of achieving the good society rather than the ultimate goals that are most objectionable in Communism or even Fascism. For the librarian the issues of greatest concern are those freedoms of speech and press guaranteed in the First Amendment of

the Constitution. John Milton, protesting the licensing and censoring of books in his *Aeropagitica* in the 17th Century, well expressed the sentiment of the then budding spirit of liberty, "let her [truth] and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" (9, p. 163) John Stuart Mill's famous essay, "On Liberty," defending the value of the "free trade of ideas" is one of the most frequently quoted briefs against censorship:

> The peculiar evil of silencing the expressing of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race: posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong they lose what is almost as great a benefit, clearer perception and livelier impression of truth produced by its collision with error. (61, p. 152)

In the same vein, Jefferson's First Inaugural address, delivered just after a vitriolic campaign, during an era of suspicion when patriots suspected each other of either being Jacobin spies or traitors to the British, and when the repressive Alien and Sedition Acts were in force, is a beautiful expression of democratic principle:

> If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. (17, p. 187)

It would be naive to claim that the above quotes are statements of fact. Obviously, advertising, publicity, the susceptibility of crowds and public opinion to manipulation all belie the necessity of truth chasing out error of opinion. Certainly not all good ends are corrupted by questionable means in a one to one ratio. However, the above are most important philosophical bases for the rules of the game in a democracy. Yet, in the name of Americanism, the radical right is willing to suspend the democratic rules of the game for the sake of order.

Two other democratic safeguards closely related to the First and Fifth Amendment guarantees are the Article I prohibitions in the Constitution against suspension of *habeas corpus,* except in cases of rebellion, and against passage of bills of attainder. What is more, the burden of proof that the public safety is in imminent danger rests

upon the government. Jefferson's quote is worthy of recall, that is that the curbing of these rights indicates lack of faith in the strength of the society to combat error. The radical right patently lacks this faith. They call for special treatment for obnoxious groups like the Communists — i.e. bills of attainders. In a democracy, rule of law, equality of application of the law, and innocence until proven guilty are fundamental. It is well for liberals and librarians to remember this too, for the radical right has a right to equal application of rules and regulations i.e. the use of library meeting rooms if other political action groups use them, to have its books in the library unlabeled if the *Communist Manifesto, Mein Kampf,* works by Communist sympathizers and other controversial authors also are unlabeled and in the library. Otherwise, these liberals deserve the epithet "hypocrite," or are lacking in comprehension of principles professed.

Anti-Democratic Movements

Before condemning the right for its lack of regard for due process of law and First Amendment freedoms, and for its paranoid view of the world, a quick review of American history is useful. First, after the repeal of the repressive Alien and Sedition laws, and after the War of 1812, the question of civil liberties and due process of law did not recur for nearly a century as a major, national issue except perhaps with the Civil War and the years just before and after. (The majority wanted to free the slaves for humanitarian reasons, not because of the rights they were deprived of.) The Federalist aristocrats and de Tocqueville quite accurately observed that the pressure toward mass equality and conformity paid scant regard to diversity and minorities. (23) Today polls show again and again that large segments of the population do not make the distinction between disagreement with and the right of dissidents to petition.* Vigilante justice runs deep in our history with self-appointed groups pronouncing self-righteous judgment with scant regard for due process. The movie-romanticized law west of the Pecos is one example; a man who did wrong, judged often by hearsay evidence, was taken out by a posse and strung up (granted there often is the version where the hero defies

*Close to one third of the American public feels the Vietnam protestants do not have the *right* to protest publicly. (85) Sixty-three percent of polled high school seniors in the 1950's felt those who refuse to serve in the army should be refused the right to vote, and sixty-five percent felt Communists should not be allowed to speak on the radio. United States civics and history courses had no effect on these students' attitudes, or, if an influence was registered, the student was apt to be less tolerant than before taking the course. (71, pp. 53, 56)

public censure and collects evidence to prove the innocence of the poor misjudged Indian or Mexican, etc.). Wister's *Virginian* bespeaks another attitude. The hero leads a posse of cattlemen to catch cattle thieves and hangs the culprits on the spot rather than take them back for trial because the government is corrupt and justice would not be dispensed. This best seller shows a distinct distrust of authority, reliance on virtuous, rugged individualism, and a disregard of rule of law. Actually, the rightists have a similar outlook except it is a good deal less appropriate off the old frontier and is perverted by a general distrust of society and government. The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan is another example where the local majority resented upset of traditional mores, distrusted the legal process, and took law into its own hands to hang or lynch real and imagined culprits. We see this behavior justified by mass media as in movies like *Birth of a Nation* and in some Southern textbooks. The abolitionists, both in the North and the South during the 1830 and 1840's were persecuted, lynched, mobbed or had their printing presses ruined for publishing unpopular views. Their constitutional rights were not protected. There were no Supreme Court cases on this issue as there would be today. The point here is that the rightist groups are not the only ones guilty of intolerance and violence toward a minority, nor are they the only ones willing in local mobs or groups to deprive the unpopular of their rights.

Along with a tradition of intolerance in the self-righteous local majority is a tradition of paranoid splinter groups in America. Richard Hofstadter in his essay, "The Pseudo-conservative Revolt," provides one of the most useful conceptual frameworks for analyzing this phenomenon in American history as well as the current day radical right or "pseudo-conservatives." He distinguished between conflict emanating from "interest politics" and that derived from "status politics." "Interest politics" occurs during periods of depressions and agitation tends to be programmatic in favor of reform to remove economic ills. Conflict is largely between the classes. On the other hand, "status politics" (which is this paper's primary concern) occurs in periods of prosperity. It tends to be vindictive, sour, and to use scapegoats instead of being realistic and positive. (42, p. 18) One point that Hofstadter does not make is that historically "status" and "interest" politics often work together. For instance, when the country is recovering from a depression, certain groups may feel that because of a villain they have not risen as fast as they should — e.g. native born labor vs. immigrants and the Populists.

Back to early history, in the 1830's there was a Masonic scare as

the status of the eastern seaboard aristocracy was losing its control of the government to bumptious westerners like Andrew Jackson. The Masons were a secret order. Many prominent, non-aristocratic politicians like Jackson belonged. The opponents claimed that members tendered greater allegiance to this "international conspiracy" than to their own government. Several judges were whisked off never to be heard of again, being accused of dispensing partial justice to fellow Masons. Barely had the Mason scare abated when the country was alive with rumors of a Catholic conspiracy. In one form or another, stories of Catholic conspiracies penetrated American politics off and on throughout the rest of the century.

Before the waves of immigration, this had been a homogeneous, basically Anglo-Saxon, Protestant nation. The immigrants seemed to threaten the old Yankee, Protestant power structure and the old way of life. Also, the Anglo-Saxon laborer felt the economic competition and before long charged each depression to a conspiracy of the Pope and international money lenders to ruin this Protestant nation of individualists. The nation's best seller prior to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a fabricated exposé of the debaucheries in a nunnery. The Know Nothing Party and the Whig Party just before its demise, both of which had great sectional influence, were basically old stock, protestant anti-immigrant parties which greatly feared the effects of the newcomers on the old way of life.

The farmers saw the railroad, the trusts, and Eastern money as arch villains and oppressors. One only has to read the Populist Party Platform of 1892, the Democratic platform of 1896, and Bryan's Cross of Gold speech to the convention to get a good sample of paranoia in American politics. (17) (It is interesting to see in the Populists and Bryan Democrats this paranoid view of persecutors. Also, it is interesting to note how strikingly similar some of the hates of the 1964 Goldwaterites and the radical right are to the Populists and Bryan — e.g. the Eastern establishment big money "international conspiracies.") Labor and capitalists viewed each other as enemies. Violence and conflict between these hostile groups were not uncommon. As with groups in general, this usually happens when emotions are high and communication and common ground are lacking with a concomitant feeling that gradual, peaceful remedies are hopeless or unacceptable.

Jumping a period, just after World War I while Wilson was paralyzed, his Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, reacted to a red scare by rounding up hundreds of suspects with scant regard for due process. The threat was in large measure a figment of his imagination; yet,

there seems to have been small general public reaction to his methods. During the early 1920's, fearful of the threat to the American economic system, the New York State Legislature and several other legislatures passed anti-socialist measures. The Depression of the 1930's produced a rash of intolerant demagogic and odd-ball movements ranging from Huey Long to Father Coughlin to Townsend. Fortunately, these protest, anti-democratic movements and groups controlled or mobilized only sectors of American allegiance. Yet, without a national government vigorously if not perfectly attacking the major crises, the outcome need not necessarily have been so mild a change. This era also demonstrates that under stress allegiance to democratic institutions can be quite superficial. Finally, we have the McCarthy era of the 1950's and the Radical Right of the 1960's, both of which see the big bogies to the American way of life in the threat of *internal* communism.

It is useful to note after this survey that the boundaries of outrageous actions change over time — hopefully today the Abolitionists would be able to exercise their First Amendment rights and hopefully today contrary pressures would build up to effectively protest A. Mitchell Palmer's arbitrary methods. The worst offenses tended to be products of mob psychology and actions at the local, sectional, or internal group level rather than at the national level.

The Character of the Radical Right

A number of historians, political scientists and journalists have sought to define the roots of the radical right. Andrew Hacker points out that the relative conditions of equality have begat frustrations as well as benefits. The Horatio Alger rags-to-riches myth is still strong. The post war boom carried many on the country's escalator quickly to a position of comfortable prosperity. Many of today's Conservatives and those belonging to the radical right saw their new status as a product of their own grit rather than as a product of wide-spread economic opportunity. However, many of these people advanced their position in large, bureaucratic organizations. Competition with big business and government regulations, like social security and taxes, badly crimp narrow profit margins. Also this post war escalator has meant that young people have tasted prosperity and yet relatively early know the probable limits of their climb. This feeling of being cramped in after an early spurt to a comfortable state lives uncomfortably with the American dream of onward and upward. (35) The flight to the suburbs is seen in part as a conservative retreat to avoid association with inferiors. "In many ways he (the conservative)

would like to make as clean a break from them (his inferiors) as possible because they threaten him both politically and socially — politically because they may have the votes that would lead to changes in the previous distribution of wealth and status, and socially because they remind him of what he himself once was and might become again." (35, p. 65) Hacker further postulates that the transience and rootlessness of current day life make these people more conservative for they have to prove their worth by moralistic postures and super-patriotism.

David Danzig sees the problem in ethnic terms, "Puritanism and the Protestant ethic provided the economically elect with their faith in thrift, self-reliance and independence. Thus the reverence for the "balanced budget," which joins frugality to personal responsibility, is usually justified more in moralistic than economic terms." (22, p. 35) Danzig also feels that fundamentalist Protestant outlook which stresses purity of doctrine and rigid orthodox points of view contributes to this radical rightist frame of mind. It might be added that this sharing of a doctrinaire interpretation of the world in terms of black or white, the Godly and the Godless engaged in war to the death (as unhappily noted in *Commonweal*) (18), probably explains the high percentage of Protestant fundamentalists and Catholics attracted to radical rightist organizations.

Hofstadter gives an excellent summary of the foregoing. As status rises, there is the need to push somebody down, causing anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-intellectualism, anti-nonconformism, as the average American moves "from Ford to Buick." The status problem is a "product of the rootlessness and heterogeneity of American life and . . . its peculiar scramble for status and peculiar search for identity." (42, p. 16) Those most susceptible, as already mentioned, are the old Anglo-Saxons threatened with a loss of status in dominating regional and national affairs while fixed on a shabby genteel income and at the same time watching the new challengers rise on a flashy boom. Another group with a status problem are the children of immigrants and families of newly acquired position who need conformity, an American identity to adopt, and who see in nonconformity a threat to the very thing they are trying to become in one gulp. Hofstadter proceeds contending that the rags-to-riches myth intensifies the status problem. As the new families push their children to become successful, they inflict status anxieties on their children, so the children search for authority, e.g. authoritarian parents, and yet at the same time resent authority. The pseudo-conservative imagines himself dominated, im-

agines the government as a conspiracy which as other authority figures he likes to see humiliated. Also the pseudo-conservative resents the long tenure of the liberals as such, as well as attributing the changes in the mythical old, stable way of life to them. The threat to status explains in part why the DAR's, the physicians, and the military are attracted to the right.

Certain personality factors are associated with the radical right. Eric Hoffer in his "great intuitive study," *The True Believer,* describes the true believer, who has many attributes in common with the rightists, as one of fanatical faith, ready to sacrifice his life for a holy cause, who feels unworthy and desires to submerge himself in a cause. The unifying agents are hatred, imitation of a leader, coercion, action so that individual distinction and identity are lost, an adherence to dogma to the exclusion of reason. A true believer finds movements interchangeable, hence the large number of former communists who subsequently joined anti-communist organizations. Hoffer's analysis helps explain the number of frustrated people who, for one reason or another, are misfits in mass, middle-class twentieth century American society who are attracted to the radical right organizations. Hatred is a salient characteristic along with adherence to dogma to the exclusion of reason. They are suspicious. As Hoffer's true believer follows a golden future into a glorious past, many of the radical right long for a mythical past of rugged individualism and the absence of controls associated with the romanticized frontier. While glorifying individualism, often they long to follow a strong leader and to lose themselves in what is regarded as a deathly struggle with the powers of evil — i.e. communism. Hoffer's analysis best describes the less educated, less mobile followers in rightist organizations rather than those attracted primarily because of status frustrations. (39)

Adorno's ***Authoritarian Personality,*** a much quoted study, tends to support Hoffer's hypotheses. Adorno and his group tried to identify potential fascists and their relation to ideology. Adorno coined the phrase "pseudo-conservative" used in the Hofstadter essay. The pseudo-conservative is described as being ethnocentric with values antithetical to democratic values with political-economic views based on "submission to authority, unconscious handing of hostility by means of displacement and projection onto out-groups . . . in order to protect a mythical 'Americanism' which bears no resemblance to what is most vital in American history." (1, p. 182) Time and time again description of the radical-right personality fits this pattern. Although the correlation was not precise, Adorno found Republicans and conservatives

tended to be more ethnocentric than Democrats and liberals. (1) This aspect of the study has been criticized, for a genuine conservative would want to preserve what is most vital in the American heritage and would be relatively free of ethnocentrism.

Janowitz and Marvick described the authoritarian as "the individual who is concerned with power and toughness and who is prone to resolve conflict in an arbitrary manner." (46, p. 185) In relating authoritarianism to political behavior they used Adorno's F (Fascist) scale. They found authoritarians more likely to submit uncritically to moral authority. And that the middle class, the better educated, the young age groups were less inclined toward authoritarianism. The poorly educated lower middle class showed high incidence of authoritarianism, probably reflecting frustrations of upward mobility and the acquisition of new values while disposing of old ones. (46)

McClosky quizzed 1200 Minnesotans on excerpts of the "conservative creed" to determine the relation between conservatism and personality. Like Janowitz he concluded that the higher the education the greater the political awareness; the more intellectual, the greater the tendency toward liberalism. The extreme conservative was the reverse. He was "more submissive, bewildered, guilt-ridden, alienated, hostile, rigid, compulsive, quicker to condemn others, less yielding in perception and judgments, more aggressively critical of the shortcomings of others, yet defensive of his own ego needs, a poorly integrated psyche." In sum, "although the intensity of their patriotism exceeds that of any other group, their faith in democracy (American or otherwise) is lowest . . .while their scores on the totalitarian, elitist, authoritarian values (which for the most part, the American creed rejects) are the highest." (58, p. 43)

Both the Janowitz and the McClosky studies found the conservatives more isolated from the community, voting less, and less politically knowledgeable. These personality studies beautifully described the personalities of the mass followers of rightist organizations, the ones who appear at textbook hearings to protest filth in novels and subversion in history lessons, the ones who uncritically read as gospel a blanket condemnation of a magazine article because it appeared in the Birch organ *American Opinion*.

Fitting with these discussions of personality types associated with the right are studies of prejudice. McDill found a correlation between authoritarianism, anomie, and prejudice in Nashville, Tennessee; particularly among the lower classes. However, he also found that in the middle classes people were prejudiced yet optimistic, trustful, well-

integrated personalities. It would be interesting to check and see if this is not a regional variation — i.e. of course, all well-adjusted white people "know" like everybody else "knows" that Negroes are inferior. (59) Bettelheim defines prejudice as:

> . . . a term applied to categorical generalizations based on inadequate data and without sufficient regard for individual differences. . . . Prejudice is a subcategory of prejudgment, stereotype thinking — a pattern of hostility in interpersonal relations which is directed against an entire group or against its individual members; it fulfills a specific irrational function for its bearer. (69, pp. 13, 14)

Allport in his book *The Nature of Prejudice,* discusses stereotyping as a form of prejudice. People "selectively admit new evidence to a category if it confirms us in our belief." (3, p. 23) A device for allowing us to hold prejudgment in face of much contrary evidence is to exclude a few favored cases so the category remains intact — e.g.: "Yes, Joe is smart, but Negroes generally have low IQ's." This tactic Allport calls refencing. (The Birchite principle of reversal is a prime example of refencing.) Edward Shils gives a good summary of the foregoing section:

> The anti-democrat . . . is distinguished by anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism and political and economic conservatism. He is rigid in his beliefs . . . He makes frequent use of stereotypes in his political perceptions and judgments, he is sympathetic with the use of violence against his enemies, he distinguishes sharply between his 'in-groups' and the 'out-groups' which he interprets as menacing his security. More commonly he shares the most commonplace of the vulgar cliches about Jews, foreigners, reformers, homosexuals, intellectuals, and he admires strong men, business men, manly men who have no tender side. (15a, pp. 28-29)

In sum, how does this authoritarian personality theory relate to the radical right? In the first place, it is a useful tool for explaining much of the radical right's attitudes and actions. They are suspicious; those they disagree with are often thought of as traitors — a major distinction from the conservatives. Conservative Buckley, for example, may think that liberal policies are foolish, misguided, disastrous, but not conspiratorial. They see things as black or white — "you are with us or you are against us" — i.e. "in-groups" or "out-groups." They

show a strong inclination toward prejudice. The John Birch Society, presumably because of the type of personalities it attracts and the association of prejudice with that organization's policy, has difficulty controlling anti-Semitism in its ranks and on its Board of Directors. Birchites view the threat of internal Communist take-over as a life and death struggle. Followers of Welch, in large measure take his wild charges as doctrinal truth and discount evidence to the contrary simply as a deceptive tactic or a very special case — the principle of reversal or refencing.

The term "pseudo-conservative" is an appropriate label for Birchites and members of other radical right organizations. Despite their attachment to the conservative label, they are not true conservatives. They do not wish to retard rapid change or even to stop it. Instead they wish to revert to a mythical economic and social American Eden or unrestrained rugged individualism. They lack an appreciation of the American heritage, past and present.

Generally the radical right — or as Barth calls them the "rampageous" right — view themselves at the barricades, the turning point of history. Since the conflict is between absolute good and absolute evil, total victory is demanded. There is a kind of enjoyment in using enemy tactics. Birchite cells and infiltration of community organization are based on Communist methods; Goldwater's 1964 campaign manager bragged that initial plans for the takeover of the Republican Party were partially inspired by Mao. There is a kind of "sado-masochistic" outlet in delight and fantasies of evils of others — sexual freedom, cruelty, etc. The renegade plays an important function as an authority on the wickedness of the opponents and as proof that conversions are not all to the wrong side.

The radical right interprets Twentieth Century American history as a series of conspiracies and betrayals of the American dream. The passage in 1913 of the Sixteenth Amendment, the income tax amendment, is viewed as the beginning of the conspiracy to overturn Capitalism. The New Deal is considered an era of major villainy, a programmed conspiracy to overturn Capitalism and replace it with Socialism. American cooperation with Russia in World War II, and now supposed Communist infiltration throughout educational, communications, religious and governmental institutions are a few more examples usually cited.

To substantiate their charges, the right engages in what Hofstadter calls their "touching" pursuit of evidence with elaborate footnotes and other hallmarks of scholarly endeavor. They indulge in what one

writer jokingly referred to as "intellectual incest." Their chief source of evidence is each other's writings. They like to quote the *Congressional Record* and Congressional hearings, making no distinction between testimony and official reports. For example, a publication quoted FDR as saying, "Some of my best friends are communists." The source was the *Congressional Record*. Congressman Velde, a Birchite, inserted this statement in the *Record*. His source was having overheard Martin Dies, a Communist baiter and foe of Roosevelt, attribute the remark to Roosevelt at a cocktail party. Another tactic is to leave out crucial words in quotes. This is frequently done in reviewing prescribed texts. (34) They view the situation as so desperate that "dirty tactics" are called for. Again it sounds as though there is a kind of relish in using naughty toys.

Radical Right Groups Today

An overview of the radical right groups is needed before going into detail on a sample few. Some five hundred right wing organizations, national and local, have been identified with twenty-six or twenty-seven considered major groups, making a major impact on the nation, and on the Republican Party in particular. Writing in 1964, Forster and Epstein estimated that the right spent around $14 million a year in propaganda. Over 70 foundations, 113 business firms and 250 individuals donated over $500 each. Almost all donations are tax-exempt. (32) In 1964 thirteen hundred broadcast stations relayed six thousand right-wing programs weekly. Many of these programs are sponsored by tax-exempt foundations like H. L. Hunt's Life Line, Hargis' Christian Crusade and Howard Kershner's Commentary On The News, produced by the Christian Freedom Foundation. (19)

Another way of getting the word to the mass public, which is considerably more questionable than the tax-exempt foundations' underwriting a propaganda campaign, is through a company called Vis Press Asso., Inc., run by a Robert Taylor and his wife in McLean, Virginia. This company's line is canned editorials, unlabeled as to source, which are sent weekly to 1,199 weeklies and 150 dailies. The local editors publish these editorials as though they were their own. The newspapers get the editorials free, and the client who wants his view sent out in this manner pays $175. The Taylors like conservative clients, like the Trujillo Dominican Republic, the AMA, NAM, the Right-to-Work Committee, the American Legion, and the Bookmailer (a right wing publishing house). (7)

Douglas Stewart did a study of overlapping membership on boards

of directors of right wing organizations. In his sample, out of 55 possible pairings of organizations, 37 occurred (50% or more celebrities of one organization were also directors in another). This makes establishment of front organizations to draw broader public support on specific issues a simple matter, while leadership remains in rightist hands. This is a favorite device of the John Birch Society. (79) In 1962 a coordinating committee for right wing organizations, the Anti-Communist Liaison, was set up in Alexandria, Virginia. These organizations not only quote from each other's materials frequently, and refer each other's publications to members, but by such devices as the Liaison they can coordinate their public campaigns and attacks. (19)

One particularly distasteful connection, slighted in this paper, is that between the radical right and the white supremacists, whose common enemy is "internal communism." The Fundamentalist religious organizations like Hargis' Christian Crusade, Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, and Gerald K. Smith's Christian National Crusade are particularly strong on this issue, blaming the communists for having raised the integration issue. One of the major right-wing educational centers, Harding College, is located in Arkansas. (14)

Willie Morris, former editor of the *Texas Observer* noted:

> The strength and intensity of the superpatriotic movement owe much to a yearning after the old-style pulpit evangelism, a brooding suspicion of 'intellectuals,' a temperamental distrust of what the Feds are up to in Washington, a rising fear of Communist successes. (64, p. 48)

This is just about the pitch of the two most prominent right-wing, religious organizations, Schwarz's Anti-Communist Crusade and Hargis' Christian Crusade. Schwarz is an Australian doctor whose gambit is running "anti-Communist schools" which last for five days. He sends advance men to achieve sponsorship from the community notables. For example, in St. Louis, Missouri; the mayor, the police chief, the Chamber of Commerce endorsed him; even the Governor declared a several day anti-Communist week while Schwarz was in town. A Stanford group did a study of participants in one of Schwarz's seminars and found over half were upper-status business and professional people, 41 percent had incomes over $10,000, almost half opposed Federal aid to education and over half opposed Medicare and believed unions do more harm than good. (32, p. 58) Schwarz himself does not usually indulge in namecalling and red-baiting. In evangelical style he portrays the evils of Communism and gives a brief summary

of doctrine. However, frequently his "faculty" step over the polite line. When queried about this, Schwarz replies that he allows his men academic freedom.

Hargis, like Schwarz, speaks to big crowds. Hargis freely mixes God's will and anti-Communism. In revival-tent atmospheres, both he and Schwarz collect large sums of money from aroused audiences, although Hargis does not attract as many well-to-do. These two are important as part of the tone of the radical right; they do not have continuing active local organizations as the Birch Society does. Hargis is notable because a few years ago he was the center of a *cause célèbre*. Some charges of his attacking the National Council of Churches and the Revised Standard Version of the Bible appeared in the Air Force Manual. Schwarz has used military facilities to conduct campaigns to show the local populace the evils of Communism and to give lectures to reservists. (81) Support for those activities brought protest from Senator Fulbright as a thoroughly improper role for the Military. Hargis and Schwarz also publish anti-Communist, rabble-rousing pamphlets which are widely used by membership organizations such as the John Birch Society or as handouts by militants at public meetings like the PTA and textbook hearings.

Dr. George Benson's National Educational Program at Harding College is another influential organization. Dr. Benson, a former missionary, feels "the stakes are high. If we fail, it means a Communist world, a Godless world — the Dark Ages all over again." (32, p. 87) His organization is in large measure supported by funds from business and rightist tax-free foundations. He conducts "Freedom Forums" which educate business executives on how to educate employees on the evils of communism and the value of American economic freedom. Also he produces films, the most notable of which is "Communism on the Map," which has been widely shown by corporations like GM and GE to their employees and by the armed forces to reserve officers. Other features of the educational program include free pamphlets and lesson plans on Communism and free enterprise for teachers and their students.

Another organization of interest to librarians is America's Future. It is controlled by business executives, and members of the John Birch Society are on the Board of Directors. This organization's purpose is to review textbook treatment of Communism and the free enterprise system, and for patriotism. The reviewers feel textbooks are too liberal. They claim that their organization already has had some influence on publishers and hopes to have more. Other rightist organizations like

the DAR and the John Birch Society find lists compiled from these reviews helpful in their campaigns against subversive materials in texts. Of the sixteen reviewers only four do not have Ph.D.'s and all have ultra-conservative records. One man objected to a book because of the too frequent use of the "God-term" democracy. Another criticized a book for not indicating the many failures of the United Nations and another objected to Galbraith's *American Capitalism* because radical governmental intervention bordering on socialism is never mentioned. (32, p. 67)

The John Birch Society is one of the first organizations that comes to mind when thinking of the radical right. A Gallup poll published in the December 19, 1965, *Washington Post* ranked the John Birch Society just above the Klan in the public's image. Three percent of the poll had a highly favorable image of the John Birch Society and forty percent a highly unfavorable image. Concerned with their reputation, the Society ran a full page advertisement in the *Washington Post,* December 13, 1965, giving as their principal purpose the fight against communism. They also noted that 40 percent of their members were Catholic, several chapter leaders were Jewish and an increasing number of Negroes were joining.

The John Birch Society is hierarchical with Welch as leader having absolute power. (84) Leaders up the line have absolute power to expel any member, refunding the last month's dues. Regional directors coordinate activities and check up on the cells and the members. The cell meetings are not large; usually members gather at the leader's home to go over its publication, the *American Observer,* listen to tapes and plan activities for the coming month. The Birch Society does not trust the general news media, so each month it assigns reading lists from the proper sources. Membership composition is noteworthy. Several leaders are doctors. The Society also attracts a number of young people — the bright and appealing, all-American type plus, as is usual in organizations, the aging, unmarried secretary and the seedy man who talks too much.

Janson and Eismann gave a sample of one Chicago cell's accomplishments during a year: It conducted an active and successful campaign for the school board; started three new active front groups, arranged over 30 anti-communist meetings; paid for seven full-page ads; showed the films "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map" to 112 civic groups; loaned 400 tapes; elected seven members to program chairmanships of various civic organizations; reproduced 5,000 "Impeach Earl Warren" bumper stickers; found a sponsor for

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Dan Smoot; paid expenses of people to the Illinois PTA meeting. In addition to activities like the above several local societies operate bookstores and downtown reading rooms similar to the Christian Science Reading Rooms. (47) In 1961 one estimate of membership was 100,000 though some think that figure is high.

Advisory board members include two past-presidents of NAM; former Internal Revenue Commissioner, T. Coleman Andrews; Thomas J. Anderson, editor of *Farm and Ranch;* and Ret. Lt. Gen. Charles B. Stone. (21, pp. 33, 47) The Birchite believes that leadership must be purged of anyone who tolerates Communism; if one is not 100 percent for the John Birch Society then, he is a "com symp." Once on the wrong side, one is always on the wrong side. They feel schools corrupt youth and have recommended going back to McGuffey readers, the three "R's," and patriotic history. Appeals of the Society are its base of certainty, a framework for interpreting the world, the perception of self-superiority, of self-righteousness, of being above those better educated.

Library Censorship Efforts

Cases are numerous showing what it is like to be the object of a John Birch Society attack. A New Hampshire librarian had published in a church magazine some remarks critical of the John Birch Society. In retaliation the Birch Society sponsored a telephone message which began, "Hello there, I am Snakey Jack the Red Librarian." (51, p. 3231) A Missouri regional librarian resigned after being harrassed by far-right pressure. She was accused of not having in the library books the Society thought important like *None Dare Call it Treason.* (55) In Fairfax County, Virginia, the American Legion and other rightist types protested several films and books dealing with racial themes. When one of the authors was accused of being "pink," the librarian checked with the House Un-American Activities Committee and found that the writer had no record with the Committee and so she stood by her choices. Crucial for the successful outcome of this Fairfax County case was the County Administrator's and the Library Board's support of the librarian's stand. (53, 56)

In 1961 and 1962, Texas was the scene of a censorship battle. Every six years a state committee compiles a list of suitable textbooks from which local schools choose. The state committee may hear evidence *against* potential choices, but may not take favorable testimony. Rightist groups would prefer local selection of texts, for they feel their influence is greater at the local level. Similarly, publishers dislike

the state textbook list, for, when a statewide contract is at stake, it is harder to resist pressures to revise text content.

The 1961 state textbook hearings were notable for the lack of opposition to rightist testimony. At the public hearings only a few college professors, who have little prestige in Texas, protested. Only three newspapers covered the proceedings. Hence Texas citizens were unaware of major policy decisions affecting their children's education.

Because of the conservative complexion of the textbook committee and because of the absence of contrary opinion, rightists were quite successful with their protests. Four of the five books the DAR protested were stricken from the proposed list. J. Everett Haley and his ultra-conservative Texans for America testified that 50 of the proposed books were unsuitable. Twenty-three of these were rejected outright and every single history and geography book adopted by the state committee was adjusted by the publishers to fit Haley's criteria. Haley feels history should be taught only from the American point of view, for two sides confuse children; that texts over-emphasize social problems and social legislation at the expense of boosting the free enterprise system; that favorable mention of the U.N. should be eliminated; and that authors, including Pearl S. Buck and Dorothy Canfield Fisher, who ran afoul of the House Un-American Activities Committee, should be stricken from supplementary reading lists.

The textbook committee gave publishers twenty-four hours to agree to changes in texts if the state were to sign a contract. A couple of examples of changes were: Winston's *Dictionary for Schools* changed its definitions of "atheist," "individualism" and "Texas," while Heath's *United States History* changed the text from saying that under the New Deal our liberties did not suffer to saying that they did. (82, 11-24-61, p. 5) Nelson and Roberts note that publishers often find it easier to incorporate in their national editions changes such as these, particularly in suggested readings. (67)

In 1962, largely at the request of the DAR, the American Legion, the John Birch Society, and the followers of Haley, a state legislative committee in Texas began examining subversion in textbooks. This time, however, an Austin College professor, a university minister, an AFL-CIO representative, and a former legislator expressed concern with the censorship issue. However, one again, when the committee traveled to the rural regions to sample public feeling, except for minority committee members, no opposition to censoring texts appeared. Only fundamentalist ministers, a few doctors and representatives of rightist organizations testified. However, eventually Haley began to

antagonize conservative, solid members of the community by accusing too many people of having Communist sympathies. Also, the legislative committee chairman committed a cardinal political sin by repeating a rightist charge taken in testimony that "some people think we have a Communist on this committee." The committee quietly died. Textbooks had already been selected the year before. Nothing changed. (82)

This affair illustrates some important problems. The rightists had power because no opposition was organized to combat them. The newspapers were derelict in not publicizing an important issue. It is difficult to arouse opposition to censorship in an atmosphere which is anti-intellectual and basically conservative. However, the few conservative leaders, who felt the affair had gone too far, might have been used as a base for protest if the anti-censors had been a little more deft. Authors, educators and parents throughout the nation have cause for concern if timid publishers incorporate changes demanded by right-wing groups in national editions.

It should be mentioned in passing, the radical right, and the John Birch Society in particular, are ardent letter writers. When Buckley wrote an editorial in his *National Review* disassociating himself from the John Birch Society, he received a flood of letters saying "I see they have gotten to you," or "Judas," "Cancel my subscription." (66) Similarly, the *Ladies Home Journal* was inundated with 2,378 letters containing right-wing diatribes against an article published in the Journal, against which *American Opinion* had warned. One letter ended with "To Hell with you and your smutty magazine," signed: "An American Mother." (50, p. 15)

Now comes the question, how well do librarians measure up to censorship problems. Marjorie Fiske conducted an interesting study in California in 1956-58. She wanted to find the effect of censorship on book selection policy. She found that the younger, less experienced librarians, and those less involved in professional organizations were more apt to resist censorship pressures. The deduction presumably would be, the less the librarian knows about "the way life is," the more apt they are to resist censorship and conformist pressures. Also, Miss Fiske found that librarians who were not demand-oriented and were value-oriented tended to resist pressures best. (31) The demand-orientated librarian anticipates what others want and is little apt to risk popularity in choosing a good, though controversial book. The value-orientated librarian, on the other hand, follows her own values and standards of what is good, bad, and needed.

The American Library Association (ALA) gave some suggestions to librarians on resisting censorship:

1. Have a written book selection policy approved by the Board. (Ready before there is a controversy)
2. File a recording of the basis of a decision on a book that is apt to be controversial.
3. Have a definite method for handling complaints; complaints should be put into writing and identified as to source.
4. Establish communication and understanding with civic, religious, educational and political bodies.
5. Inform newspapers of policies governing book selection.
6. Participate in community civic activities to become identified as a community leader.

If a censorship case arises, the ALA committee suggestions continue:

> Keep calm, treat the complaint with courtesy and humor, make sure the administration knows of the complaint; seek support of the local press since freedom to read and freedom of the press are complements; inform sympathetic civic organizations and enlist support. (2, pp. 228, 229)

The above is, of course, a lot easier said than done. Large segments of the population could care less about the abridgement of freedom to read. (13, p. 71) Many would agree with Catholic National Office for Decent Literature (CNODL) executive secretary, Mon. Fitzgerald, when he said:

> Our American society, as its inheritance from Western culture, has definite moral standards and principles which we all respect, notwithstanding our religious differences . . . human freedoms are essentially subordinate to good morals and are safeguarded by them. (37, p. 97)

Father Gardiner, also of CNODL, further said:

> . . . a morally aroused public opinion, will be willing to waive the legal right for the common good, especially as it touches the young. (37, p. 95)

It is one thing to be supervisor of morals of one's religious flock and quite another to try to impose one's moral judgments on the whole

of society; such an attitude is a good step in the direction of totalitarianism. Then there is the question of what happens to the librarian living in the closed Southern society, who, because of a personal code of open-mindedness, orders books treating the subject of race objectively and scientifically, bearing evidence contrary to the firmly held beliefs of the dominant white group. In a relatively small community, probably there would be no allies. How much hostility can the normal person tolerate and retain balance? Is the choice between moving away, cowardice and hypocrisy, or of gradually hoping to foster change in small doses, reining in one's own convictions in hope of tempering others? Of course, in the larger world and in the long run, counter pressures arise.

The library should establish a posture toward the radical right and extremist groups. First, a library should understand its book selection policy; presumably a good library would want materials representing all major segments of opinion in the society. This includes selecting publications that most characteristically represent their point of view and not labeling them if other controversial viewpoints are not labeled. If a library does not carry someting in this line, the radical right has a legitimate grievance. Nonselection is a kind of bill of attainder; it is not following the rules of fair play. Second, while a library as a nonpartisan, public institution, cannot go out and campaign against the radical right, it can through displays gather material of these groups. Presumably exposure of methods and a sampling of writing would disenchant most open-minded readers. If, for instance, a member of the John Birch Society is running for public office, a library could display voting records and policy stands of various candidates along with supplementary reading about group affiliation of the candidates. Hopefully, publicity and free trade of ideas would have their effect.

Generally, the library's relation to the radical right will be defensive when the right tries to censor the bookstock. Many of the values associated with a good library will run counter to the radical right's values. A library is based on the optimistic view that all shades of opinions must be represented, that good ones can compete with the bad. The radical right wants to close in and remove the sources of corruption and sees its own view as the only correct one. Conflict with rightist groups would eventually almost be inevitable. Caution would not particularly pay vis a vis these groups because with their paranoid outlook, they can always find something objectionable. Hence a policy of integrity in book selection might as well be followed.

Fourth, the ALA suggestion of keeping good communications with the newspapers and community organizations and individual supporters is a good one. In a survey of successful integration both north and south, it was found that crucial factors for success were support from the leaders and decisive action early to still opposition. Similarly, if the library has ready allies who join to quiet the opposition before an emotional issue has time to build, chances of a successful conclusion are much greater. In the sampling of library cases involving rightist groups the library won, but in each of these cases the librarian had the backing of the board, the governmental authorities, and the publicity media.

The Texas textbook episode illustrates the problem that arises if the news media ignore the issue. How can the public be aroused if it is not informed? The problem was compounded by the administrators not really disagreeing with Haley's point of view. At first it appeared the only opposition seemed to come from professors who wore beards and did not send their children to Sunday school and nobody who mattered in politics would pay that sort any attention. But then a minister testified — and here is a community figure in this milieu who carries some moral weight. Finally, the Texas case demonstrates where a library could look for support if natural allies in the press and socially-aware groups are not forthcoming. McClosky found that leaders, even conservative leaders, tended to have a much higher regard for the rules of the game and the traditional democratic safeguards than the average voter. (57) Conservatives may share with the radical right a scepticism about the goodness of man and the wisdom of change, but the Conservative also is a traditionalist who eventually can be aroused in behalf of traditional American standards of fair play, due process, and traditional liberties. Very often the rightists' "dirty tactics" offend and arouse opposition, as was true in the textbook case. The librarian appealing to conservative allies should phrase the question in terms of fair play, values they hold in common, for conservative Americans are not known for their regard for things intellectual. Quite likely in the conservative, non-intellectual heartland of America, the library would find this last approach most useful in gaining support.

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